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*"How sweet a scene will earth become!
Of purest spirits, a pure dwelling place,
Symphonious with the planetary spheres."*

Shelley.

HAMPDEN
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY;
OR,
COLLOQUIES ON
THE ERRORS AND IMPROVEMENT
OF
SOCIETY.

Wm. J. H.
"The Rebel HAMPDEN, at whose glorious name
The heart of every honest Englishman
Beats high with conscious pride."

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. II.

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CONTENTS.

VOLUME II.

CHAPTER I.

	Page.
HAMPDEN succeeds to a title and a considerable estate,— takes his seat in the House of Peers.—Bertrand and Vela solicit the patronage of the Countess of E——, a relative of Lord Hampden, to a model Infant School.....	1

CHAPTER II.

Fitzosborne visits Dr. Southey at Keswick.—His remarks on the manuscript of "Sir Thomas More, or Collo- quies on the Progress and Prospects of Society."....	26
--	----

CHAPTER III.

Dr. Bathurst, with his daughters, visits the South of France, in consequence of the declining state of his health;— his alarming indisposition.—Lord Hampden, with Henry Western, whom he had appointed his private secretary, depart for the Continent;—their reflections	
--	--

	Page.
upon St. Catherine's Hill at Rouen.—Riot at Lyons.	
—Death of Dr. Bathurst.—The daughters return with Lord Hampden to England	51

CHAPTER IV.

Remarks on the progressive improvement of society.—	
Account of Mr. Owen's establishment at New Lanark,	
—his public meetings in London,—his memorials to Congress, and proceedings in Ireland and America.—	
Moral union proposed for advancing useful knowledge	74

CHAPTER V.

Lord Hampden's interview with the Lord Chancellor Brougham, for the purpose of suggesting improvements in education.—The public schools.—London University without a Professor of Moral Philosophy	124
--	-----

CHAPTER VI.

Miss Martineau supports the Malthusian theories and other errors of the political œconomists.—Mr. M'Culloch compelled to discontinue his Lectures at the London University.—Bertrand meets Messrs. Hume, Attwood, Malthus, and M'Culloch.—Conversazione, where some of Miss Martineau's "Illustrations" are discussed	162
---	-----

CHAPTER VII.

Bertrand and Vela visit the manufacturing districts;—	
their rencontre with a Doctor of Divinity, a member of the Society of Friends, and an Oxford student.—	

HAMPDEN

IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

“Let the man
Whose eye regards not his illustrious pomp
And ample store, but as indulgent streams
To cheer the barren soil and spread the fruits
Of joy,—let him by juster measures fix
The price of riches and the end of power.”

AKENSIDE.

WE must now return to Hampden, whom we left still lingering in the neighbourhood of the vicarage. About a week after that interview with Dr. Bathurst which has been already described, he received letters announcing the death of a distant relative ; an event of which he most probably would not have been informed, had it not been attended with some unexpected and

highly important consequences to himself; for the dissolution had taken place many months since. This relative had been a member of the House of Peers; and as he had two sons in India, and three in England, besides several daughters, some of whom were married, the inheritance of the title and estates excited no interest beyond their own family, or their more immediate connexions. It so happened that this nobleman had had a protracted lawsuit with a party, regarding the boundary of one of his estates. It had been carried on for several years, and was still in progress at the period of his death. The executors not being sufficiently circumspect for the interests of the family, or, rather, having no other object in view than the just administration of their office, gave, in their own presence, free access to the deeds belonging to the deceased nobleman, and which he had always secreted with peculiar vigilance. The writings were examined with reference to the matter in dispute; but it was soon discovered that the title to the estate itself was extremely questionable: and what rendered the inquiry more alarming to the family, it was from the possession of this estate that the title as well as the right to the other estates were derived. Further investigation was prosecuted; and without entering into the legal and tedious niceties of the question, it may be

sufficient to observe that, after much litigation, John Hampden was finally pronounced the legitimate heir, and would accordingly take his seat in the House of Peers with the title of Lord Hampden.

The intelligence was announced to Hampden a few days after his arrival in town, and on the day after the decision. The parties who made the communication were not a little surprised at the singular apathy with which he heard the tidings of his splendid inheritance. Though unable to controul at all times his rising spirit, and liable to forget the principles of his favourite philosophy, when goaded by ignorant presumption, or inflamed by pertinacious opposition, yet in his retired moments his resentments were subdued, and the strength of his principles re-animated by reflection. The truths he had studied were engraven deeply on his mind. His first impressions upon receiving the intelligence of his fortune, were similar to that of an individual who had been invited to join a party where he expected to find not a single visitor whose thoughts and pursuits were congenial with his own, and where he could of course expect no sympathy. The next and most important consideration was, in what manner he could make the event subservient to the great object of his existence ; and he revolved it long in his mind

before he formed his resolution. Hampden's principles, while he remained in seclusion, were disregarded by some, and despised by others; but now that he was destined to act his part upon a conspicuous theatre, he became an object of general attention. That he would renounce, or at least suppress his opinions, was the general decision, rather than forgo the proud and dignified station to which he was called. Others imagined that the extent of his patriotism would not exceed the patronage of education and of liberal opinions, when they were not carried too far; that is to say, so long as they fell short of an inquiry into the justice of his own peculiar privileges*. So industrious was conjecture, that Hampden was perpetually assailed by indirect endeavours to ascertain the course he intended to pursue. He put on more than his usual reserve. The *soi-disant* friends who thronged about him, all anxious to render him some essential service, were beyond number. Many had seen him at places he had never visited. He was remembered when a child by others who, upon

* "We think of the poor in the way of charity, for to deal out charity, gratifies not only benevolence. but pride; we think much of them in the way of charity, but we think little of them in the way of justice; justice, however, ranks before charity, and they would need less charity, if they had more justice."—*An Essay on the Free Examination of the Laws of England*, by LEMAN THOMAS REDE.

comparing notes, were younger than himself. While some, professing a desire to protect him from the importunities and impositions incidental to his high station, betrayed their own deep-laid schemes. Had additional facts been necessary to confirm Hampden's opinion of the demoralizing results of a system of rivalry, he was now in an excellent school. Wearied with their pressing solicitations, he resolved, as soon as his affairs would permit him, to retire to his estate in Suffolk until the meeting of Parliament.

Among the distant family connexions of Hampden who had courted his acquaintance with an assiduity exactly proportioned to the utter neglect of him prior to his accession to the peerage, was the Countess of E——. Her fortune was ample, being little short of twenty thousand a-year, which was settled upon her on her separation from the Earl, to whom she had brought a fortune nearly double this income. The marriage was solemnized on her part to obtain a title, and on that of his Lordship to repair his shattered fortunes. A separation took place in less than two years from the period of their marriage; and her Ladyship, at this time, was about forty years of age. Her favourite amusements were to caress her dogs and feed her parrots, of both of which she had a considerable number, as also a variety of other animals and birds, at her country seat. It may be easily

imagined that this lady was no very interesting acquaintance for Hampden. It was, however, necessary for him to see her frequently regarding his new property ; and as she pretended that he was a great favourite with her, she would sometimes seem to listen to his Utopian projects. Occasionally he obtained from her considerable contributions to the societies which he himself largely patronized,—such as the Deaf and Dumb, the Indigent Blind, and several Pension Societies. He had, however, some difficulty in persuading her to encourage Infant Schools, although he was particularly desirous of obtaining her support, as it would be a considerable aid to them in the country. Her Ladyship's estates were wide of each other ; and it had been found impossible to establish any infant schools in parishes where her property lay, in consequence of her repeated refusals to countenance such institutions. The Countess was of opinion that a great mistake had been made in imparting education to the poor ; and recent circumstances had often reminded her of the predictions of her father, who many years had foretold all that has since come to pass. No servants could now be relied upon for honesty or industry. Instead of reading their Bibles only, according to the original intention, they filled their heads with novels and romances, aped the manners of their betters, and wrote love-

letters. So far from promoting their education at an earlier period, she was for deferring it to a later, or suppressing it altogether.

Soon after Hampden's arrival in town, Bertrand introduced Vela to his acquaintance ; and as a model infant school was about to be established in London, in which Bertrand and Vela were taking an active part, Hampden determined upon introducing them by letter to the Countess, for the express object of soliciting her aid. He strictly enjoined them to be there at a particular hour on a certain day, having previously ascertained when it would suit her Ladyship to receive them, neither informing her of their object nor apprising his friends of her character. They waited upon her Ladyship at the appointed time, and were shown into a spacious ante-room, in which were several parrots chattering away, a poodle dog, and an Italian greyhound, with numerous China jars, and other articles of *virtu*.

After waiting about a quarter of an hour they were ushered into the drawing-room, where they found her Ladyship attired in the extreme of fashion*, sitting upon a sofa feeding a parrot.

* "Is it sufficient that the clothes we wear be of the kind best calculated to protect the person, to secure bodily health and comfort, and to exhibit the real elegancies of the human form? No: a thing called *fashion*, better named *folly*, is the grand desideratum ;—no matter how little the dress be calculated to protect the person ; no matter how inconvenient in its

She looked sorrowful, and appeared to have been shedding tears. As soon as they were seated she apologized for having detained them,—but one of her favourite poodles had been taken suddenly ill, and, notwithstanding all the care and attention that had been bestowed upon it, there was scarcely any hope of recovery;—such was the melancholy report of the doctor, who had just left her. She then read the letter of introduction which mentioned the object of their visit. After which her Ladyship could not help expressing her surprise, mixed, however, with many sentiments of respect, that Lord Hampden should have given them the trouble of applying to her, as he had so frequently heard her opinions upon the subject of pauper education, and, more especially, the earlier commencement of such pernicious institutions. Bertrand was about to commence an explanation, when the door was opened, and a servant entered with an elegant basket, with open lattice-work, through which could be

structure, or how much calculated to injure health; no matter how absurd in its appearance, provided it be fashionable: and consequently (for it is a necessary consequence,) to introduce a *new mode*, is the summit of human achievements.

“How much longer will beings, capable of becoming rational, by an early direction of their faculties to pursuits calculated to repay their toil with real pleasure, be thus the dupes of a never-failing cheat, whose rewards to her devotees are perpetual renewals of her former promises?”—GRAY.

seen a light blue silk lining. It was fastened with a silver lock. The servant said that a respectable-looking female had just left it with strict injunctions that it should be delivered to her Ladyship instantly, with the accompanying letter, which contained the key. The female went away hastily.

The Countess opened the letter, and observed, in large letters, the following line:—

“It is respectfully solicited that this letter be read before the basket is opened.”

Having read a few lines, and perceiving its tenour, she handed it to a young lady, her companion, requesting her to read it aloud, at the same time apologizing to her visitors.

“A traveller recently arrived from a distant voyage, and hearing of the uncommon care and attention bestowed by the Countess of E—— upon her valuable menagerie, requests the honour of her acceptance of a remarkable animal brought from one of the remotest islands in the South Seas, and which the first naturalists of the day have pronounced to be the most curious and wonderful of any yet discovered. It is not pretended that the animal is particularly rare; on the contrary, it has been found in most of the habitable parts of the globe; but, what is very remarkable, its valuable properties have been imperfectly known even in the most highly civi-

lized countries, and entirely overlooked in others. Though born in a more helpless condition than almost any other species, yet, properly trained, it surpasses all others in power, and is inferior to none in beauty. To the constructiveness and industry of the beaver and the bee, it unites the sagacity and the docility of the elephant; and when acting in concert, according to its nature, it possesses a power superior to the united force of the most ferocious animals in the world. There have been endless discussions as to the best mode of treating this animal, but still much ignorance on the subject prevails. Some maintain that kind treatment renders it less docile; others that kindness should be administered with judgement, in order to produce a good effect. Certain it is that the animal possesses most extraordinary faculties, and approaches very near to the reasoning powers of the human species. Some naturalists have gone so far as to predict, that when these faculties shall be properly exercised, it will surpass any attainments that man himself has yet acquired: and others were long puzzled to ascertain what faculties it really possessed, and whether its actions were wholly instinctive. Many philosophers in Scotland composed laborious and most intricate treatises upon this curious question, and afterwards wrote an account of each other's lives and labours; but

since an eminent naturalist, about a century back, discovered that its impressions were received through the medium of the eyes, the ears, and the feelings, very little real knowledge has been contributed.

“This noble but perplexing animal has also attracted the notice of the French Academy, by whom its nature and capabilities appear to have been better understood, and in which school some admirable rules for its treatment were prescribed. Some of the naturalists attempting to subject it to these rules, were opposed by others, who stood firmly by some ancient records giving a different description of its qualities. Although these records could not alter the facts connected with its nature, and which were obvious to the senses, yet such was the violence of the two contending parties, that confusion ensued; and a third and ferocious party, totally regardless of the subject in dispute, took advantage of the tumult, and set aside both parties. Then the poor animal was treated for some time worse than ever, until the two former parties, becoming reconciled, resumed, and in some degree improved, the management.

“One philosopher has taken alarm lest this animal should increase in number too rapidly, and overrun the whole earth, eat up all the beasts, birds, fish, fruit, and vegetables, and then

die of hunger. Now, although it is found capable of subsisting upon very small quantities of food, and requiring less in proportion as its higher faculties are cultivated, yet has this philosopher many followers, who are equally terrified, and are busily occupied in striving to increase the quantity of food, and circumscribe their numbers within a geometrical ratio.

“Some members of the Zoological Society have lately turned their attention to this interesting creature, and are devising plans for placing it in situations most congenial with its nature, as its wonderful properties are daily becoming more manifest.

“Not to be too tedious, it may yet be necessary to give your Ladyship the most ample information regarding this extraordinary animal. It has proved in this country of late rather destructive to game and poultry; and although means have been adopted to take it alive, and even to domesticate a number of them together in certain districts, yet it seems to dislike this novel treatment as much as would one of your Ladyship's Italian greyhounds the occupation of a turnspit. Those who promote this plan of herding them together, like many others, overlook its superior faculties; and as long as they can be kept quiet, a bare existence is all they deem necessary: but its better faculties having

been awakened, the animal has now other desires, and pines if they are not gratified.

“It must not be disguised that this little visitor will demand your Ladyship’s utmost solicitude and care, even from its most tender years ; for it is sensibly alive to every external influence, so much so that even the very looks, as well as the treatment it receives, will produce some effect for good or for ill. But, with diligent watchfulness, it will amply repay you by its grateful kindness and surprising sagacity and intelligence ; and, what is still more curious and astonishing, will communicate, when full grown, its good qualities to other young animals of the same species, besides influencing all that may be near it. When it arrives at maturity, it will never degenerate, provided it be attended throughout life by the same judicious treatment and well-regulated circumstances ; and your Ladyship will have too high a regard for its superior faculties, which never could have been designed by the Creator to lie dormant, to permit it to lose the superintending care of your Ladyship.”

The Countess was all impatience to unlock the basket, and frequently indicated an intention of satisfying her curiosity while the letter was being read, but was restrained by the suggestions of her companion. It was at last opened ; and, after lifting up some light muslin, there was seen lying

underneath, on a bed of roses, with outstretched arms and laughing eyes, a beautiful infant.

As the letter was read, Bertrand began to suspect Lord Hampden of a *ruse de guerre*, and guessed what were the contents of the basket. Vela and her Ladyship were surprised ; the latter was evidently disappointed, and expressed displeasure. She was about to ring for the servant to inquire more particularly after the person who brought the basket ; but her companion having taken the child out, it was all animation ; and, as if to deprecate her wrath, extended its little arms towards her Ladyship with such irresistible smiles, that she was compelled to take it and welcome the innocent stranger with a kiss. The whole party were lavish in their praises of the beautiful animal ; and Bertrand informed her Ladyship that the model infant school would accomplish all that the writer had promised. The Countess was so beset by her companion and all present, that she avowed a determination to attend to this one school herself ; and as an earnest of her intention, she presented Charles with her first contribution of one hundred pounds.

Her Ladyship then requested them to step into an inner apartment, where there were a number of beautiful birds, chiefly Oriental ; but what chiefly attracted their notice, was a cage containing cats, mice, and rats, an owl, rabbits, a

hawk, doves, and small birds, all dwelling harmoniously together,—affording a striking proof of the power of circumstances and training in subduing an original ferocity of character. It was purchased of John Austin, who has for many years been engaged in forming similar collections. Bertrand, a few days afterwards, obtained leave to sketch a drawing of this interesting collection, for Vela, of which this is a copy.



Her Ladyship said, she had been induced to send for this man in consequence of seeing a picture of the collection in the “Menageries,” published by the Society of Entertaining Knowledge. Bertrand inquired if she had read the

remarks upon it : she replied, that it is possible she might, but she only attended to the address of the man. Bertrand rejoined, that they were very short, and if her Ladyship would permit, he should be much gratified in the honour of reading them. The Countess assented, and the book having been brought from the library, Bertrand read as follows :—

“ Upon the Surrey side of Waterloo Bridge, or sometimes, though not so often, on the same side of Southwark Bridge, may be daily seen a cage about five feet square, containing the quadrupeds and birds which are represented in the annexed print. The keeper of this collection, John Austin, states that he has employed seventeen years in this business of training creatures of opposite natures to live together in content and affection. And those years have not been unprofitably employed ! It is not too much to believe, that many a person who has given his halfpenny to look upon this show, may have had his mind awakened to the extraordinary effects of habit and of gentle discipline, when he has thus seen the cat, the rat, the mouse, the hawk, the rabbit, the guinea-pig, the owl, the pigeon, the starling, and the sparrow, each enjoying, as far as can be enjoyed in confinement, its respective modes of life, in the company of the others, —the weak without fear, and the strong without

the desire to injure. It is impossible to imagine any prettier exhibition of kindness than is here shown :—the rabbit and the pigeon playfully contending for a lock of hay to make up their nests; the sparrow sometimes perched on the head of the cat, and sometimes on that of the owl—each its natural enemy; and the mice playing about with perfect indifference to the presence either of cat, or hawk, or owl. The modes by which the man has effected this, are, first, by keeping all the creatures well fed; and, secondly, by accustoming one species to the society of the other at a very early period of their lives. The ferocious instincts of those who prey on the weaker are never called into action; their nature is subdued to a systematic gentleness; the circumstances by which they are surrounded are favourable to the cultivation of their kindlier dispositions; all their desires and pleasures are bounded by their little cage; and though the old cat sometimes takes a stately walk on the parapet of the bridge, he duly returns to his companions, with whom he has been so long happy, without at all thinking that he was born to devour any of them. This is an example, and a powerful one, of what may be accomplished by a proper education, which rightly estimates the force of habit, and confirms, by judicious management, that habit which is most desirable to be made a rule of conduct. The

principle is the same, whether it be applied to children or to brutes."

"I understand your motive," said her Ladyship archly, "in reading this: but suppose you were to train up children after this method, how can you insure the continuance of the same favourable circumstances around them when they are out of the cage—the circle of society in which they move?" "If," replied Bertrand, "this mode of training was generally adopted, children and adults could not move out of their own circles, but into others where the same kind dispositions and high intelligence would prevail."

About a week after the interview, Charles sent the following verses to the Countess.

EDUCATION.

A spirit upon chaos came
And said, "Let there be light,"
And instantly the living flame
Illumined vale and height.
Life came with light, the voice and breath
Of countless beings broke
On waters, woods, and wild and heath,
Till every atom woke.

And thus might education shine
Upon the human soul,
Search every source, exalt, refine,
And fill and form the whole.
The pulses of the heart awake
With warm and vivid glow,
And teach the light of love to break
On all that breathe below.

Not thus has Education shone
 With genial equal light ;
 O'er some its partial gleam is thrown,
 The rest are left in night.
 And under cover of the gloom
 The vulture vices glare,
 'Man wars with man unto the tomb,
 And even hates him there.

Yet meaner creatures have been taught
 To know the bond of love,
 The owl and ravening hawk been brought
 To nestle with the dove ;
 The timid mouse, devoid of fear,
 To couch beside the cat ;
 And in the self-same home appear
 The rabbit and the rat.

O woe to ye who will not form
 The rising race to love !
 Behold each breathing bosom warm
 And gentle as the dove.
 They only ask a genial power
 To give the pure impress,
 To bid each budding infant flower
 In light and happiness.

So multifarious was the business requiring Lord Hampden's attention, that nearly four months elapsed before he was enabled to leave London. Previous to his departure, he requested Henry Western to come to town. He wished his presence earlier ; but hearing from Dr. Bathurst that he was rapidly improving himself, and was particularly useful at the school, he had been unwilling to disturb him. The style of the let-

ters, also, which he had requested him to write once a fortnight to report the state of the school, and to give an account of his own studies and pursuits, fully confirmed Dr. Bathurst's information. His attainments far exceeded expectation; and it was now desirable to find for him some permanent occupation. It has before been mentioned that Henry, prior to the misfortunes of his family, had displayed a remarkable precocity of talent; and since he had been planted in a genial soil, his powers of mind had been more fully developed. Happily for him, those misfortunes, although they had for a time soured his temper, had not led him into any bad habits which could not with a little effort be discarded. Although he had been a frequenter of the public house, discussion was the object of the village politicians; and, however erroneous their speculations, their minds were exercised. But the management of the infant school had proved an admirable training for himself; and Hampden, when corresponding with him, continually stimulated his exertions, being anxious to exhibit in his reformation a striking example of the force of circumstances in altering his character. He so contrived, that the proposition of any plan he desired him to adopt, should originate with Henry himself. This made him appear to be in a great degree the architect of his own fortune. Such

treatment, besides imparting an alacrity to Henry's progress, so endeared Hampden to him, that he always concluded his letters with the warmest expressions of gratitude. Hampden was sensibly affected by these heartfelt acknowledgments; for he was reminded of the certain destruction from which he had rescued him, and was delighted to observe his expanding and estimable qualities.

If Hampden was gratified with the evident advancement of this youth in mental acquirements, he was no less pleased, when he arrived in town, with the amenity of his manners. This was partly the result of his studies, of his visits at the houses of the curate and doctor of the village, who had, at the suggestion of Dr. Bathurst, noticed him, and, also, in consequence of attending the Miss Bathursts and the frequent visitors when inspecting the school. Upon his waiting on Lord Hampden, they had a long conversation respecting the infant school, Dr. Bathurst, and the neighbourhood; after which Henry was requested to return on the following day. Lord Hampden then informed him that he intended to offer him the appointment of his private secretary. Henry renewed his expressions of gratitude, but added that he feared he was not qualified for such an undertaking. Lord Hampden replied that he had already made considerable progress, but, in

order to acquire more general knowledge, he could apply himself exclusively to study for the next six months.

Before he departed for his country seat, he placed him in a highly respectable boarding-house kept by a French family, and where the French language was generally spoken. It was scarcely possible that Hampden could have found a youth better qualified to assist him, or one more likely to continue the poor man's friend.

With all his advancement in knowledge and in station, Henry retained his regard for the class from which he sprung; and there were several circumstances that contributed to this feeling;—the benevolent character of Hampden, to which he was indebted for his improvement; the good feeling, which is generated in a well-conducted infant school; and his subsequent intimacy with a gentleman of superior character he had met with when visiting the infant school at Vincent Square, Westminster. This school was originally formed at Brewer's Green, and was the first experiment of the kind in London. It is still managed by Mr. Buchanan, a patient and kind-hearted teacher, who came from New Lanark, where the system originated, when the Brewer's Green school was established in the year 1818.

The gentleman whom he met at the school

was Mr. J. P. Greaves, at that time Honorary Secretary to the Infant School Society, and a most active and disinterested promoter of the system. He had resided for three years with Pestalozzi, who set greater value upon right feelings and rectitude of conduct, than upon the acquisition of languages. A collection of highly interesting letters, addressed to this gentleman by Pestalozzi on the subject of education, has been published. Among the numerous advocates for various improvements, there was not one who exceeded him in personal sacrifices to what he esteemed a duty. At the same time he had some peculiar opinions, resembling the German mystical and metaphysical speculations*, hard to be understood, and to which few, in general, are willing to listen, and still fewer to subscribe; but his sincerity and the kindness of his disposition always secured for him a patient hearing. Such was the individual who, perhaps, more than any

* The Works of John Paul Richter were unintelligible to any but Germans, and even to most of them. A worthy friend, just before Richter's death, edited a complete edition of his Works, in which one particular passage fairly puzzled him. Determined to have it explained at the source, he went to John Paul himself, and asked him what was the meaning of the mystic passage. John Paul's reply was characteristic:—"My good friend, when I wrote that passage, perhaps God and I knew what it meant; it is possible that God knows it still; but as for me, if I knew it ever, I have totally forgotten it."

other, contributed to preserve Henry from the dangers of sudden prosperity ; for, notwithstanding all his advantages, his rapid advancement had almost overpowered his imagination, and made him too sanguine in his projects. Hence the value of a kind and parental monitor to warn him of the new temptations that assailed him. Henry's disposition strongly inclined him to the calm contemplation of religion ; for, even when he fell away from the right path, he manifested no turbulence. His errors would have partaken of the same quiet character, so far as his personal conduct was influenced by them. Had he followed up the career from which he had been so happily withdrawn, he would probably have become a scribbler for radicalism, and an abettor of violent resistance in others, rather than a conspicuous actor in the scene. Not that he would have shrunk from an equal participation in danger, when his duties, real or imaginary, demanded a bold and open defiance. Convinced, by the authors he had read, of the injustice of society towards its poorer members, he was not equally convinced of any effectual remedy. This incertitude produced a degree of apathy, and might soon have deadened his best feelings ; for he would often remark to his companions, that, if the disaffected could produce a revolution, power might be usurped by worse

characters than those by which the country is governed.

Until he had been in London several weeks, he was ignorant of the opinions of Hampden, who often repeated that his was the religion of charity. The schools being under the immediate direction of the Miss Bathursts, Henry taught those opinions which he had imbibed in his earliest years ; and they returned to him with the most pleasing associations, strengthening his attachment to religion. His constant attendance at church, where the unaffected piety and benevolent zeal of Dr. Bathurst roused the attention even of careless listeners, together with the task of transcribing his improving manuscripts, contributed to give all his thoughts the same direction. Aware of the scepticism of Hampden, Dr. Bathurst had contrived to have such books put into Henry's hands by the curate, at whose house he visited, as would counteract any sentiments of infidelity he might derive from that quarter. Wordsworth's "Excursion," his favourite volume, now taught him to connect all the mild and beautiful scenes of nature with piety and love. Extracts from this work supplied his pocket-book with hints for reflection, in lieu of Southey's early poetry ; for, although in a milder spirit, it deploras the wrongs and injustice of society with a deeper feeling.

CHAPTER II.

“ Away ! nor let me loiter in my song,
For we have many a mountain path to tread,
And many a varied shore to sail along,
By pensive Sadness, not by Fiction, led :
Climes, fair withal, as ever mortal head
Imagined in his little schemes of thought ;
Or e’er in new Utopias were read,
To teach man what he might be, or he ought ;
If that corrupted thing could ever such be taught.”

LORD BYRON.

My health having been impaired by too much excitement and over-exertion, I was induced to revisit my native country in the autumnal season. After making an extensive tour, both in North and South Wales, and ascending the highest mountains, I was prevailed upon, by letters from Charles Bertrand, to extend my excursion into Cumberland, where I should enjoy the scenery of the Lakes, and have an opportunity of conversing with an individual eminently distinguished in the literary world. Charles was the more anxious that I should make this attempt, because there was much sympathy between his own views and those of Dr. Southey. Although the opinions of the poet laureat had

undergone some change, they had not, in the estimation of those most intimately acquainted with his private life, justly subjected him to the imputation of interested motives. His sentiments had varied less on the subject of religion, than upon the possibility of effecting any important changes in human polity. A work had for a long time been announced as preparing for publication from his pen, entitled "Sir Thomas More, or Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society," and of which Charles was particularly desirous that I should, if possible, know something before publication. There was no probability that, in such a work, the social system would be passed over in silence. If it was approved, the authority of Dr. Southey could not fail to have great weight with a numerous class; and if any part was condemned, it would afford opportunity for canvassing objections. The plans had nothing to fear but neglect; opposition would excite inquiry, and elicit truth. The announcement of the work all at once ceased;—and whether it was merely suspended, or altogether abandoned, was left to conjecture. Charles sent me a letter of introduction, written by one of his most intimate friends, and which went so far as to recommend a communication regarding the work.

I took my seat in the Carlisle mail; and, on

the day after my arrival, sought the retreat of the Muses among the delightful scenery of Keswick. Great was my astonishment, upon inquiring of the peasantry in the neighbourhood, to find that no individual of the name of Dr. Southey was known ; but they told me, pointing to a gentleman walking beside the lake with a volume in his hand, and whose name was Montesinos, that he could probably give me some intelligence regarding him, as he was known to all the principal residents in the neighbourhood. I approached him, and having mentioned the object of my inquiry, he surprised me with a frank invitation to his house, which was at a short distance, where he could acquaint me with many particulars regarding the individual of whom I was in search, and with whom no one was better acquainted than himself. "Few men," said he, as we turned towards his house, "have been more calumniated than Robert Southey. In the hilarity and ardour of youth he had looked forward with sanguine hope to the probability of realizing more equitable forms of society, and had, in common with many others, despaired of success, after experience had taught him how difficult it was to apply his crude theories to practice. Then he became a warmer advocate for those civil and religious bonds which held society together. As he failed in his efforts to

construct a new and more complete edifice, consistent in all its parts, did he err in strengthening the supports by which the existing structure was sustained?" I replied, that I had read most of his early productions in poetry, and although he expressed himself indignantly in defence of the oppressed, and in condemning the injustice of unequal distribution, yet was he always the advocate of religion. While censuring many of its forms, he professed to be animated by its spirit. It was the discrepancy between general profession and practice that provoked his satire. "True," said Montesinos; "but you shall soon judge for yourself whether any material alteration has taken place in his opinions, for I have at present in my possession the manuscript of a work he is now preparing for the press, and which you shall peruse."

It struck me as somewhat singular that Southey should entrust his manuscript to a friend who scrupled not to offer it to an entire stranger. I surveyed Montesinos attentively, and I thought he resembled the description that had been given me of Southey's person. When I entered his library and looked around, it had all the indications of the *studio* of a literary character. Upon many of the pamphlets on the table were written the words, "To Dr. Southey." I had, upon first encountering him, mentioned the ob-

ject of my visit ; and as it was unsealed, I showed him my letter of introduction. The strain of the letter, coming from a friend whom he informed me he highly valued, together with the warm interest he felt in the subject of my inquiries, induced him to insist upon my sojourning at Keswick for a few days ; " for the manuscript I proposed lending you," said he, " is the work of which you are in search, and you can then examine it at leisure. This evening I have engaged to accompany my family to an intelligent neighbour's ; and if you will join us, I can insure you a hearty welcome." The promise of the manuscript was too tempting to be relinquished for any other object, and I had no desire for the company of strangers. I hesitated ; when Montesinos added, " Perhaps you are desirous of a secluded evening, and would prefer the library ?" I replied, that as my time was limited, if he would excuse me, I would devote the evening to the object of my journey. " Then," said he, " you shall have the manuscript and the library to yourself." The fire was lighted, the candles brought in, and the curtains drawn. I sat down to my repast with eagerness ; but how great was my astonishment, upon turning over the leaves, to find dialogues carried on in the name of Montesinos and Sir Thomas More ! It seemed mysterious ; and upon reflecting upon all the circumstances, I came to the conclusion

that my host could be no other than Robert Southey himself. However, as he had assumed the name of Montesinos, for what reason I could not divine, I resolved to address him by no other; and particularly as it would enable me to speak of Southey as a third party.

I saw nothing of my host that night; and it was late before I finished the first volume, although I passed over much that related to the local scenery, and other topics not bearing upon the future improvement of society. I was gratified to find an almost unqualified approbation of Owen's schemes, as applicable to the relief of the destitute and unemployed of the working classes, although accompanied with an imperfect knowledge of the formation of character, and a total absence of that enthusiastic admiration which a comprehension of the potential philosophy of the system was calculated, more especially in a poet, to inspire. Nevertheless there was quite sufficient commendation to rescue the subject from that oblivion into which it was apparently declining. I was also well pleased to observe, that a report, drawn up by some intelligent printers, was quoted from rather copiously, as its practical details were better calculated to instruct than any more elaborate treatise.

The clock had struck eight, on the following

morning, when a gentle tap at the door roused me from my slumbers. I sprang from my bed, and in a few minutes had undrawn the curtains, and was opening my window upon a most beautiful morning. At that moment Montesinos was approaching the house, and, looking up, inquired how I could forgo the attractions of nature in her freshest hours. "Because," I replied, "I had resigned myself till a late hour to the attractions of Montesinos and Sir Thomas More, who had appeared again in my dreams, and prolonged their Colloquies. I fear that all our Utopias cannot be so well located as this delightful residence." "We will discuss these questions," replied Montesinos, smiling, "after breakfast, when I will conduct you to Walla Crag—the scene of that portion of the 'Colloquies' which chiefly interests you."

Nothing could be more gratifying than to observe the warmth of affection that reigned in the family of Montesinos, as well as his own amiable conduct and simplicity of character.

"What is there," said I, as we set out on our walk, "to prevent that happiness, which I have witnessed in your dwelling, being diffused throughout society?" "The spread of infidelity," replied Montesinos promptly. "Say, rather," I rejoined, "the prevalence of ignorance; for, if infidelity were the cause of misery, how is it that so much benevolence and happiness is in

the manuscript accorded to Robert Owen, than whom no one has spoken more decidedly against faith. True knowledge is the source of happiness; and ignorance, of misery. Permit me to return for a selection of the manuscript.”—“ I have it with me,” said Montesinos archly; “ and when we arrive at our destination, it shall be quoted freely.”

I had been so long estranged from the mountainous scenery of my early youth, that, notwithstanding the interest which a favourite subject excited, I could not suppress an occasional involuntary expression of admiration as the varying prospects successively opened upon us. “ Alas!” said I, “ that Nature should have done so much for man, and man so little for himself.”

Montesinos.—Say that God has done so much in revealing salutary laws, and rebellious man yielded so little obedience.

Fitzosborne.—I can discover no difference between the laws of Nature and the laws of God; they must necessarily have the same origin: the philosopher and the divine, when both sincere, appear to be disputing about words. Two books are spread before us—the book of nature, and the book of revelation: the former appeals to the evidence of our senses; and in proportion to the extent of our investigation will be the accuracy of our knowledge. The book of revelation rests

its claims to authenticity upon the traditions of mankind, at all times liable to error; and it is possible,—nay, it is generally admitted,—that some portion is allegorical and some historical; what portion is either one or the other, still remains a subject of controversy. But in what manner can its truths be tested, but by their correspondence with the unerring truths revealed in the book of nature, and which are not, and cannot be doubted? I come, therefore, to this conclusion, That intelligence is the source of virtue and happiness; and ignorance, of poverty and vice. The former can be acquired, and the latter dispelled, only by free inquiry.

When we reached Walla Crag, Montesinos, at my request, seated himself upon the ash-tree, while I took my station upon a small projecting rock on his right. The situation was no less beautiful than the vivid description in the manuscript had led me to expect; and already, to me, it presented itself invested with classical interest. “And now,” said Montesinos, “favour me with your comments.”—“I have,” I replied, “but little to remark beyond that part of the work relating to the social system, for in truth I have scarcely read any other portion; and here I will observe that the author must have misunderstood some of the communications of Sir Thomas More, who, declaring that he was acquainted with

the discoveries of science, since he dwelt in these sublunary regions, sometimes reasons as though he were ignorant of them; and, besides, his remarks are below the standard of intellectual character assigned to him in history. I am of opinion that if Sir Thomas More had been our contemporary, his powerful mind would have extricated his country from her numerous and afflicting difficulties.”—“Apply your free inquiry to the manuscript,” said Montesinos, “and show me where the author has fallen short of the truths of Utopia.”

Fitzosborne.—I presume it was not the intention of the author to confound religion with morality, or to infer that the absence of one necessarily implied the loss of the other; because, I again repeat, he describes Owen, the avowed opponent of faith, as “the happiest and most beneficent and most practical of all enthusiasts;” yet I find Sir Thomas More imitating interested and ignorant defenders of the faith, who, in order to render irreligion odious, uses the terms immorality and irreligion synonymously.

Montesinos.—Refer to the passages, and comment upon them as you proceed.

Fitzosborne.—I will read, then, the colloquy upon Owen of Lanark.

“The connexion between moral truth and political wisdom is close and indissoluble; and

“ he who shows himself grievously erroneous
“ upon one important point, must look to have
“ his opinions properly distrusted upon others.
“ To maintain that the state ought not to con-
“ cern itself with the religion of the subjects, is
“ the greatest and most perilous of all political
“ errors ; and to regard religion with indifference,
“ is the most dangerous of all moral ones.”

Are not moral truths and political wisdom one and the same ? If it be immoral to regard religion with indifference, then were Hume, Gibbon, Hobbes, Helvetius, Condorcet, &c., &c., immoral characters,—but this would be giving a new interpretation to the word : according to the general acceptation of the term, they were all moral characters, distinguished by exemption from the more glaring vices of the day, and occupied in endeavours to advance the happiness of mankind. Religion enjoins duty towards God ; morality, our duty towards man.

“ Away with such systems ! Where there is
“ most love of God, there will be the truest and
“ most enlarged philanthropy. No other foun-
“ dation is secure. There is no other means
“ whereby nations can be reformed, than that
“ by which alone individuals can be regenerated.
“ In the laws of God, conscience is made the
“ basis of policy : and in proportion as human
“ laws depart from that groundwork, error and
“ evil are the sure result.”

There appears to be much confusion of ideas in this paragraph. If by the love of God be meant the love of truth, I admit that it is the only secure foundation for enlarged philanthropy; but if, as I suspect, by it is meant an adherence to a particular creed, then must I declare that such belief circumscribes the bounds of philanthropy, and is too frequently the greatest hindrance and check to the exercise of genuine and universal charity. Human laws, the result of wisdom and experience, must be as much the laws of God, and more unquestionably such, than any traditionary revelation; for the most indisputable and universally admitted laws of God are the laws of nature. The conscience, by education and training, can be rendered instrumental in securing obedience to *any* laws. The Hindoo, when he lays himself down to be crushed beneath the wheels of his great idol, is influenced by conscientious motives. The Peruvian, prostrate before the rising sun, yields an equal obedience to the dictates of conscience. The observation betrays an ignorance of the nature of conscience, which is not the test of truth, although it admonishes the individual when his conduct is at variance with that which he *believes* to be true. But what grounds are there for supposing that conscience was to be excluded from the social system?

In reply to a question regarding a community of goods, I find the following :—

“Theory and experience are alike against it. “The Jesuits are the only persons who ever “made the experiment upon an adequate scale ; “and, well as they succeeded in Paraguay, the “result did not induce them to establish their “later missions upon the same foundation.”

How can it be said that theory and experience are alike against it, while it is admitted that the Jesuits in Paraguay succeeded well? Their success proves the pre-eminent superiority of the principle, which, in spite of opposing obstacles, manifested its efficacy in banishing almost all the evils that afflict society. Mankind derive benefit in proportion as they draw near to the principles of justice and of mutual aid ; and they sustain injuries, and encounter difficulties, the further they depart from them*. When it is asked, why the

* “The rights of the poor man must be estimated by the sacrifices he has made, or acquiesced in, for the benefit of society :—He has resigned to his landlord all his share of the ground, which his hands cultivate, not reserving to himself as much as will bury him ; he has lent to the merchant and manufacturer the use of his limbs, as an engine to procure them wealth, at a rate much below their real value ; he has relinquished, to those who are called his betters, all claim to rank, power, title, and respect, and is content to swell the pomp of state by the contrast he exhibits of meanness opposed to grandeur, without which comparative relation neither of them would exist. What, then, in such an unequal distribution, is

Paraguay reductions were not imitated? the answer must be,—that, in Chiquito, there was a deficiency of means, or of practical knowledge, on the part of the managers. And it is probable that the Jesuits feared that the Indians themselves might become too well acquainted with the principle that held them together, and thereby be enabled to achieve their own independence,—as will soon be the case, when sufficiently enlightened, with the people of this country. To say “that the disposition to have and to hold is the main spring of all improvements in society,” is erroneous. The desire of happiness is the *main* spring; and the direction in which the gratification of that desire is sought, depends upon education and the institutions of the community. Why did not “the disposition to have and to hold” obstruct the designs of the Jesuits in Paraguay? and why was that disposition destroyed in Sparta? Simply because the people were taught,

left him? Surely the security, at least, that his condition shall not become still worse, and that, like the bee, which resigns his treasures to man, he may remain unmolested in his hive, and be fed with a portion of that honey he collects for his masters: if this be denied him, will he not be apt to call for a fresh division of the common property?....

“.... It is not enough to provide for the poor by keeping their souls and bodies together in the cheapest manner possible; they ought to be maintained in their *comforts*; and which, as they lie in a very narrow compass, should be the more sacred.”—REDE.

and felt, that greater advantages were derivable from the principle of mutual aid and of equitable distribution, than from that of private property.

The reasons given for expecting that sectarian agency only can carry the Owenite scheme into effect, are as follows :—

“ Because a degree of generous and virtuous
“ excitement is required for overcoming the first
“ difficulties, which nothing but religious feeling
“ can call forth. With all Owen’s efforts, and
“ all his eloquence, (and there are few men who
“ speak better, or who write so well,) he has not
“ been able, in ten years, to raise funds for try-
“ ing the experiment : while, during that time,
“ the Bible Society has every year levied large
“ contributions upon the public ; and more than
“ once, a larger sum within the year than he has
“ asked for. Had he connected his scheme with
“ any system of belief, though it had been as
“ visionary as Swedenborgianism, as fabulous as
“ Popery, as monstrous as Calvinism, as absurd
“ as the dreams of Joanna Southcote, or perhaps
“ even as cold as Unitarianism, the money would
“ have been forthcoming.”

No individuals of the present age have displayed so much virtuous excitement as Robert Owen, Abraham Combe, and Frances Wright ; none have made such personal sacrifices, or evinced such unwearied perseverance and undaunted ar-

dour ; and yet they have all considered the religion of faith as pernicious. Behold Owen, after expending an ample fortune in renovating society, neglected by his own country, travels from clime to clime, to improve the condition of humanity.

Abraham Combe*, overcome by bodily exertion in carrying these moral combinations into practice, with assistants destitute of the requisite qualifications, after exhausting his pecuniary resources, sinks into a premature grave.

Frances Wright, notwithstanding she was assailed in New York by every species of obloquy, and driven from one edifice to another in seeking a place for the development of her views, at last purchased a church, which she denominated the Hall of Science, and dedicated it to the gratuitous instruction of the rising generation†.

* See Appendix A.

† “ Fain would I see my fellow-creatures in pursuit of that truth which is around, and about, and within us. Fain would I see them burying their opinions in their own bosoms, and uniting for the study of facts and a knowledge of themselves. Many evils are abroad on the earth, and never did supineness threaten greater dangers than at the present moment. Old superstitions are shaken to their foundations. The false restraints, imagined in ages of primeval ignorance, are loosened from the mind. What then must ensue, if, while old things are passing away, we seek not to discover new ? If, while the chains of superstition are falling from the mind, we build not up therein a moral bulwark, nobly to replace the Gothic bar-

Never, never let us behold the social system indissolubly united to any sect. Are not the sects here described as visionary, fabulous, monstrous, absurd, and cold, the result of ignorance? And shall he who has dispelled that ignorance degrade and neutralize his truths by seeking to unite them with those errors that have paralysed the good in other systems? Such a union indeed might lead to a revival of the Paraguay reductions, but would never yield an example for universal adoption.

riers that are withdrawn, nor apply ourselves to lead, by persuasion and conviction, that nature which may be no longer cowed by superstition, nor mastered by force? Man is no longer in leading-strings, nor submissive to the rod. He is at this hour too knowing to be driven, and too ignorant to walk alone. Let a free people look to it in time; nor, waiting till law and religion are alike under foot, they shall have to devise remedies in the midst of confusion, and to school the human mind and the human heart in the depths of their corruption. Enough hath been said: the path lies clear. Virtue and truth dwell only with knowledge; and as, when a people shall possess knowledge, they will form on all subjects just opinions, so will they also, in all the relations of life, as citizens, parents, and fellow-creatures, discover and pursue a just practice.”—*Miss Wright's Lecture in New York.*

I have been informed by two individuals, who were present at these Lectures, that none but those who have heard Mrs. Siddons read, can form an adequate idea of the impressive manner and dignity of Miss Wright's elocution. It was calculated that, at the second Lecture, ten thousand persons went away, unable to gain admission. The Lecture lasted, in general, about an hour; during which time, she was heard with the most profound attention.

“ Say, rather, that what is spiritual, affects
“ men more than what is material ; that they
“ seek more ardently after ideal good, than after
“ palpable and perishable realities. This is ho-
“ nourable to your nature : and no man will ever
“ be ranked among the great benefactors of his
“ species, unless he feels and understands this
“ truth, and acts upon it. Upon this ground it
“ is that the moral Archimedes must take his
“ stand : we must take wider views of the sub-
“ ject.”

If the moral Archimedes should ever take his stand upon the hollow ground and baseless assumptions of mere spiritual reformers, regardless of physical phenomena,—his efforts will be as fruitless as theirs. It is because he has sought the improvement of the species where alone all knowledge has been found, and other sciences perfected, that he has surpassed all his contemporaries in detecting the causes of vice and misery, and in discovering a system as incontrovertible as the laws of nature*. His ideal good

* “ For some thousands of years the people of the earth have been listening to the same admonitions—to the same precepts from all kinds and classes of orators, sacred and secular, who seem, like Demosthenes, to have been talking to the waves. Even the Messiah was sent in vain to teach universal charity. Mankind seem, by common consent, to refuse to recognise the only principle consistent with human happiness. The effects of this fatal perversity appear to be ap-

is an imperishable reality that will survive the shock of ages, and terminate only with the extinction of mankind. The moral Archimedes must maintain his high and commanding station, and not descend to speculative opinions, or blend his irrefutable truths with erroneous or doubtful conclusions. With the rock of science for his fulcrum, his power is irresistible, and moves the moral world.

Those who flatter themselves that they are taking wider views of the subject, have abandoned the paths of legitimate inquiry; and, in the present downward progress of society, have in vain attempted to show us any good. Theirs has indeed been an ideal good, totally devoid of all support from fact and experience.

“Can you deny,” said Montesinos, “that Owen confines himself solely to the consideration of external circumstances?”—“Yes,” I replied, “I must, with deference but with confidence, assert, that no one has studied more deeply the nature of man, or is better acquainted with his capabilities and the springs of human action. This has been tacitly accorded by the general adoption of his system of infant schools, the efficacy of which, proaching a climax that threatens to provoke some vast convulsion—some new deluge, to sweep away the accumulated corruptions of selfishness, that have been piled, like Ossa upon Pelion, till humanity throughout the earth groans beneath the burden.”—MRS. GRIMSTONE.

however, is too often impaired by a mixture of the old leaven. His 'Essays on the Formation of Character' also corroborate this. That work, however, is but little known, although it contains the fundamental principles of his moral system. The world is most familiar with his speeches, which refer chiefly to his proposed institutions, without an adequate description either of the rudiments or general principles of the science."—"Are there," said Montesinos, "no other portions of the manuscript that have attracted your notice?" "I have endeavoured," I replied, "to ascertain the reason why Robert Southey and Robert Owen, two individuals whose talents and benevolence I hold in the highest estimation, should not take the same view of the means of re-modeling society." "Well," rejoined Montesinos, "and have you discovered the cause of this disagreement?" "I think I have; and I will read the passages which appear to be contradictory; first premising that the writer has not once touched upon the position Owen assumes as the basis of his system, viz. that 'the character is formed *for* and not *by* the individual.' There are, indeed, some passages which greatly favour that opinion, while there are others equally at variance with it. First, it is stated—

"But ignorance and misery and vice are allowed to grow, and blossom, and seed, not on

“the waste alone, but in the very garden and
“pleasure-ground of society and civilization.”
—vol. i. p. 108.

“Many thousands in your metropolis rise
“every morning without knowing how they are
“to subsist during the day; or, many of them,
“where they are to lay their heads at night.
“All men, even the vicious themselves, know
“that wickedness leads to misery; but many,
“even among the good and the wise, have yet
“to learn that misery is often the cause of
“wickedness*.”—p. 109.

“There are many who know this, but believe
“that it is not in the power of human institutions
“to prevent this misery. They see the effect,
“but regard the causes as inseparable from the
“condition of humanity.”—p. 109.

“Moral evils are of your own making; and

* “The stern proscription under which the majority of the human family suffers, the small encouragement given to their virtues, and the great severity extended to their vices, places the transgressing victim of the severe and partial institutions of society in the situation of Cæsar when he had passed the Rubicon. There is nothing left for him but to go forward, sword in hand, and cut his way through his kind: for he must seize everything, where it is vain to ask anything; he must build his miserable security on the destruction of those leagued to destroy him. Such is the state of the thousands of wretches who wander in degraded vagrancy, who herd in common prisons, or fill the loathsome haunts of infamy and misery. Our churches are crowded every Sabbath with people petitioning

“undoubtedly the greater part of them may be prevented.”—p. 109.

“If the author had not halted between two opinions, he would have discovered that *all* might be prevented. He seems to think that the character is formed in part *by* the individual, and in part *for* him; and thus he neither approves the existing state of society, nor understands a better. He attributes the crimes of individuals to adverse circumstances, and still he is the advocate of punishment, and a believer in the doctrine of free-will.

“Impossible as it may be for us to reconcile the free will of man with the foreknowledge of God, I nevertheless believe in both with the most full conviction. When the human mind plunges into time and space in its speculations, it adventures beyond its sphere: no wonder, therefore, that its powers fail, and it is lost.

for that mercy to themselves which they fail to show to each other, and breathing professions in direct contradiction to their practice. Can the rich man, sated to repletion, conceive to what extremity privation has power to drive the poor man, who only knows that he has senses by their unsatisfied cravings? Can the educated and protected guess the force of temptation, and the inefficacy of precept on the uncultivated and exposed? Or the honoured and respected imagine what is the natural indifference of the outcast that has neither name nor estimation? Yet are the first everywhere the judges of the last, awarding penalties and punishments in cases in which they are incompetent to decide.”—MRS. GRIMSTONE.

“ But that my will is free, I know feelingly ; it is
“ proved to me by my conscience.”—vol. i. p. 28.

“ Here is another instance where conscience is erroneously made the test of truth. I am conscious that my will is *not* free, according to the acceptation of the term here implied. I am free to determine whether I shall depart from Keswick tomorrow or the following day, but my determination must be governed by the preponderating motives, as all actions are ; and this is what is meant by *necessity*, in contradistinction to *free will*, by which is generally understood the power of resisting the most influential motive, which is a palpable absurdity.

“ As the author before condemned, by censorious epithets, various sects, while he retained his own peculiar though perhaps more refined dogmas, so does he now condemn speculations in which he himself indulges. It is because his own mind ‘ adventures beyond its sphere’ that his powers fail. After investing a Deity with human attributes, he is unable to reconcile with the image in his mind the successive discoveries of science. It is evidently his speculations regarding supernatural existences that intercept his views of the most important truths, and deprive mankind of the aid they would otherwise derive from his unrivaled talents. If he had clearly seen that the character is formed *for* the individual, such

expressions as are found in the following paragraph would not have disfigured his work."

"I have never confounded such men as yourself and Tonstall with Gardiner, Bonner, and the pack of hell-hounds whom they hallooed to the chase."

"What!" said Montesinos, "would you prevent the strong reprobation of vice? How can our indignation be suppressed at the recollection of deeds of enormity and sanguinary violence?"

"By the remembrance that individuals form not their own characters. In the manuscript it is very justly remarked,—

"Alas! that so many are born in sin, and the children of wrath, is the consequence of human misgovernment, not of Divine appointment. I know not any consideration more mournful than that there should be whole classes in civilized society, whom all circumstances tend inevitably to degrade both in their moral and physical nature. This is the sore disease which seems inherent in civilization; and for which even you, and those who have followed you in planning ideal commonwealths, have been able to devise no better remedy, than by supposing that even a perfect society would afford criminals enough to perform all employments of this kind."—vol. i. p. 127.

This passage convinces me that the author,

like all the principal writers of the day, has not devoted much time to the examination of the civilization proposed by Owen, who has not merely declared, but irrefutably proved, that crime may be entirely abolished. Should this manuscript be published in its present state, it will effect some good ; but it would yield far greater benefit to mankind, if, previously to this being done, the author should re-examine the plans now before the world."

"The manuscript," said Montesinos, "must go forth as it is, because some portion is already sent to press ; but, if a second edition should be called for, the author will avail himself of any approved suggestions which may arise from criticism or friendly communications."

I left Keswick much gratified with the kind feeling and hospitality of my host ; but, upon the whole, I was disappointed in finding in his forthcoming work so little practical advice for mankind, at a period when it was so much required.

CHAPTER III.

“Yes, I remember her; I saw her first
In the sweet prime of womanhood—the rose
Of health, in young and dewy freshness, bloom’d
Upon her cheek; and from her dark blue eye
The spirit of each new-born thought look’d out
In undisguised expression, and diffused
Over her face its own pure loveliness:
A change came o’er her.

Ere yet

The sun had kiss’d away its dew, we saw
The loveliest flower morn ever smiled on, droop.”

New Harmony Gazette.

FROM the period of Henry Western’s departure for London, Mary Bathurst experienced a visible dejection of spirits. She had strove, from the first, not only to conceal, but to discourage her attachment; the rising virtues of Henry, however, rendered all her endeavours at suppression ineffectual: at the same time, while he remained in the neighbourhood, the manifestations of that attachment were not such as to excite the particular attention of her friends. The interest which her father and sister, in common with herself, had taken in the progress of Henry, served to cherish the flame; and when she most flattered her-

self that she was subduing, she was cherishing an imprudent affection. In the most indirect manner she contrived to have such books thrown in his way as might facilitate his improvement; and these secret contrivances stimulated her regard even more than an open avowal of kind intention and a corresponding demeanour. In two or three months her health began to decline, and her indisposition assumed the form of a pulmonary complaint. Her father's constitution was also much shattered,—and in fact had never been completely restored since that indisposition which first introduced Hampden to the vicarage. His physician strongly recommended, both for his own sake and that of his daughter, that he should try a change of scene. He therefore resolved to make such arrangements as would enable him to spend a year upon the Continent. The place which, by the advice of a friend, he had selected, was a small village in the immediate neighbourhood of Montpellier.

The anticipations of the change to a girl who had as yet scarcely quitted, except to the extent of a few miles, her parental roof, together with the necessary preparations for the expedition, so far occupied the mind of Mary as materially to diminish her dejection; and even before their departure, her father and sister beheld with affectionate gratification the symptoms of conva-

lescence. This, however, did not hinder them from prosecuting their journey; for the vicar's ill-health having been brought on by too close and unremitting application to his duties, he had been strenuously advised by all his friends to yield to the recommendation of a temporary absence. They went by Paris to the South of France. The variety of novel scenes so diverted the attention of Mary, that her mind, though still subject to occasional relapses, was much relieved.

In the village of Lunel, the place chosen for their retreat, resided several English families. Among the visitors sojourning there for a short time were Mr. and Mrs. Sidney, with whom the Bathursts became intimate,—not from any particular congeniality of mind, but in consequence of a distant relationship between the vicar and Mr. Sidney.

Delightful as was this retreat, it was not of a character the best calculated to divert the mind from any single object that had taken possession of it. Amid the romantic scenery in the neighbourhood of Lunel, Mary cherished, in spite of her repeated resolutions to forget him, the recollection of Henry Western. Often would she seek seclusion, and dwell upon the happiness she could have enjoyed in the society of one possessing a mind so much in unison with her own. Her secret remained still undivulged; and she

was fast sinking again into despondency, when she was roused to exertion by the visible alteration that was taking place in her father: his fainting fits had returned, and his debility was rapidly increasing. The solicitude she now felt, led to attentions the most exemplary. The Doctor's infirmities were such, that he required the incessant care of his daughters, either in walking with him in the garden, or reading to him his favourite authors. He apprehended that Mary's indisposition must have arisen partly from some mental affection, as he had remarked her improvement whenever she was much occupied. Several times he had been about to speak to her on the subject, but as often postponed it; and when his illness became more severe, and her mind was more occupied, he was unwilling, as it appeared unnecessary, to advert to it.

Lord Hampden, since his succession to the peerage, had kept up an occasional correspondence with Dr. Bathurst, who had received a letter from him just before his indisposition had excited alarm. The vicar being unable to write, requested his friend Mr. Sidney to become his amanuensis on the occasion. After finishing the letter, Mr. Sidney, at the instigation of Miss Bathurst, added a postscript of his own, to the purport that the physicians considered the Doctor in imminent danger.

This letter reached Lord Hampden about a month after the prorogation of the session of Parliament. He had not taken his seat more than three weeks, and was now meditating a visit to Paris during the recess. He resolved therefore to set out immediately. Western had by this time become his regular attendant. He had previously intended that he should accompany him in his continental tour, and waited only the completion of some important matters he had intrusted to his management. Lord Hampden procured additional assistance to finish them, with which aid they were soon enabled to depart. They went by the steam-packet from Brighton to Dieppe, and reached Rouen on the following day. Here they were compelled to remain one day while the carriage, which had broken down within a short distance, was repairing. Henry had been delighted with the novel scenery since he landed at Dieppe; and he was particularly struck with the magnificent city of Rouen, the long avenues of stately trees through which it was approached, and the noble boulevards surrounding it.

On the day after their arrival they traversed the city the chief of the day, purposing to enjoy an evening view from St. Catherine's Hill. In ascending, they wound slowly round the hill, frequently pausing to recognise the various churches and public edifices, the spires and ornaments of

which were now gilded by the rays of the setting sun. When the summit was gained, they had a complete panoramic view of the whole city ; while on the left lay an extensive plain of meadows and cultivated fields, watered by the meandering Seine. It was altogether a most enchanting sight, and Henry was in raptures.

After Lord Hampden had pointed out to him the different parts of the city and the various edifices, he seemed all at once to be rapt in contemplation, which Henry observing, retreated a few paces. At length Lord Hampden beckoned him, and said, “ Henry, observe this immense assemblage of houses, churches, and public buildings, all pressed so close together as scarcely to leave room for the inhabitants to inhale a wholesome atmosphere ; while we see on the other side, extending far, a fine champaign and luxuriant country, watered and fertilized by a beautiful river. The mind naturally inquires what could have induced mankind to crowd together in unhealthy cities ? Although too wide a separation of dwellings might have proved equally inconvenient in other respects, why not adopt a plan of building that should give the inhabitants sufficient contiguity for the purposes of mutual assistance, and yet admit a free circulation of wholesome air, and the cheering prospect of trees and gardens ? The answer is plain :—mark

those magnificent turrets rising amid the old and ruinous houses; a striking emblem of the opulent few, towering over the impoverished many. These solemn temples are consecrated by selfishness to Him who renounced selfishness, and who went about doing good;—consecrated by those who amassed wealth, to Him who gave all he had to feed the poor;—consecrated by those who secured to themselves every luxury, to Him who knew not where to lie his head. How melancholy to witness such a perversion of the truly divine principle of love!—for if there be one principle more divine than another, it must be that which is ever fertile in peace and harmony. Thus it was that selfishness, in depriving the people of the fruits of their labour, sought the aid of superstition, by offering to its ministers a division of the spoil.”

“I had understood,” my Lord, replied Henry, “that the revenues of the Church were in early times specially devoted to the maintenance of the poor.” “Some portion,” rejoined Lord Hampden, “was so applied; but the Church first of all sanctified, and participated in the monopoly which occasioned poverty*. Many ecclesiastics

“The hospitality and charity of the clergy too, not only gave them the command of a great temporal force, but increased very much the weight of their spiritual weapons. Those virtues procured them the highest respect and veneration among all the inferior ranks of the people, of whom many were constantly, and almost all occasionally, fed by them. Everything

surpassed even princes in the extent of their revenues, and in the pomp and grandeur of their private establishments. In the darker ages men crowded into towns and cities to escape the oppression of the lords and barons; but if they fled from tyranny under one form, they were soon subjugated under another. That there have arisen in the Church great and illustrious characters even in the worst of times I am ready to admit; and that to their energies cooperating with others whose motives were less pure, many of our best institutions owe their origin: But let me ask, whether, through ignorance or design, there has not existed a perpetual hostility between the advance of science, and what are falsely deemed the interests of religion? By whom has the pro-

belonging or related to so popular an order,—its possessions, its privileges, its doctrines,—necessarily appeared sacred in the eyes of the common people; and every violation of them, whether real or pretended, the highest act of sacrilegious wickedness and profaneness. In this state of things, if the sovereign frequently found it difficult to resist the confederacy of a few of the great nobility, we cannot wonder that he should find it still more so to resist the united force of the clergy of his own dominions, supported by that of the clergy of all the neighbouring dominions. In such circumstances the wonder is, not that he was obliged sometimes to yield, but that he was ever able to resist.”—*Smith's Wealth of Nations*.

“At the table of the Emperor Maximus, Martin bishop of Tours received the cup from an attendant, and gave it to the presbyter his companion before he allowed the Emperor to drink;—the Empress waited on Martin at table.”—*Gibbon's Decline and Fall*.

gress of truth been more resolutely retarded than by sectarian zealots? some influenced by honest conviction, others by alarmed selfishness, seeking every aid for the security of their possessions. All truths, whether presented to us under the name of philosophy, science, or religion, have one common origin, and their nature must be essentially the same. Had those truths relating to the formation of character been freely canvassed, the force of public opinion would ere now have compelled the establishment of such institutions only as would have conduced to a general participation in the means of happiness. As we passed along the streets of that city in the morning, did you not mark the same abundance of the necessaries of life, and the same instances of abject poverty, as in England? similar contentions, courts of justice, and prisons? Travel where you will in any part of the globe, you find that the first use that is made of knowledge, which is justly called power, is to aggrandize the individual at the expense of the community."

Henry, in the early poetry of Southey, had found a reprobation of tyranny and oppression, suited at that time to his taste; but he was entirely unacquainted with those practical means of emancipation of which Lord Hampden was the persevering advocate. He had therefore since fallen into the general persuasion, that many of

the evils of society were inseparable from the sublunary condition of humanity. After Lord Hampden had summoned him to London, they had been so much occupied in his private affairs, that no time was left for speculative discussions; and now, when he discovered in his Lordship's opinions any principle that appeared to contravene his religious sentiments, he endeavoured to avoid them, and shrunk from further investigation. He trembled in entering upon what he deemed unhallowed ground. His feelings and imagination were now so warmly enlisted on the side of the religion of his childhood, and he had so constantly strengthened these feelings for the last two years by fervent prayer and thanksgiving, that they had returned to him with increased vigour. He had thanked his God for recalling him from the error of his way; and one of his most calm and delightful pleasures was in communion with his own heart, and in silent gratitude. In Lord Hampden he beheld the instrument of his conversion, and his sincere affection and respect would induce him to overlook great mistakes. Still it was painful for him to hear the expression of opinions which he was unable or unwilling to controvert. Had he gone boldly forward in his inquiries he would ultimately have discovered consistent truth; but halting between two opinions, a painful conflict arose in

his breast. He saw sufficient to cast a doubt over his own system, but not sufficient of Hampden's views to discern their consistency. He could not entirely resist the truth of the position regarding the formation of character ; but to give it unqualified admission would be to destroy the very foundation of his own superstructure.

Lord Hampden discovered this feeling ; and, contrary to his usual practice, he felt unwilling to urge the subject precipitately, or except at the most favourable juncture, and always through implication rather than by any formal discussion. When he observed the serene delight which Henry derived from his views of religion, and consulted his own feelings, he could almost envy him his tranquil joys, and ask himself whether he might not dissipate that cheering hope, without imparting an equally powerful pleasure. Had he been assured that at the same moment he removed error he could have substituted truth, he would have had no hesitation in proceeding : but he was so well satisfied with the change he had already been the means of effecting, that he was apprehensive of incurring the risk of sacrificing Henry's peace of mind, until he could have ample leisure to enlighten him by a juster estimate of the nature of man.

The travellers had loitered so long upon St. Catherine's Hill, that the shades of night were

falling when they reached the city gates. Diverging from curiosity into a narrow street they soon lost their way, and passed through many obscure lanes, where scenes of distress and misery were exhibited not less appalling than are to be found in some of the most wretched parts of London. Emerging from one of the darkest alleys, they at last found themselves suddenly in an open space crossed by an avenue of trees, at the extremity of which rose in solemn majesty the venerable towers of a cathedral; they were agreeably surprised to find the western door open, —and they entered the abbey of St. Ouen. It was the hour of vespers, and nothing could exceed the striking solemnity of the scene. A feeble light glimmered in various parts of the abbey: and as they crept softly up the nave, they now and then disturbed a pious but scarcely visible devotee. The profound silence was at intervals broken by the gradual swell of the organ, which recalled the wandering thoughts to holiness, and raised the devout aspirations to Heaven. There was something peculiarly sublime in these movements, resembling the prelude to a voluntary, which suddenly dying away, left all in silence. Henry was entranced, and his thoughts were heavenward. Hampden was deeply affected; but in him the scene gave birth to different emotions: and after he had been compelled to yield to an



Interior of the Abbey of St. Evroul, at Evroul.

influence which to have resisted he must have been devoid of all sensibility,—he began to ruminate upon the combined effect of music and the solemn grandeur of the scene; and he thought of the objects by which the imagination and the senses were so deliciously captivated.

Not a word had either of them spoken; but when they passed the portal, Hampden passionately exclaimed, “Would that truth had the same advantages as error! that this music, and all the powerful means of persuasion, were devoted to the cause of unadulterated truth! that to its natural attractions were united the most refined gratification of the senses! that the useful maxims of morality, its endless benefits and paramount obligations, and the bland but powerful influence of love, were enforced beneath these sublime towers by the impassioned eloquence of elders who had in their lives exhibited the most striking examples, and were thereby endeared to their fellow citizens! ‘What a divine religion might be found out, if charity were really made the principle of it instead of faith*!’” Henry scarcely heard what was said; his feelings were too deeply absorbed in what he had just witnessed, to admit the thought of any other subject; and he either affected not to hear the remark, or it actually passed unheeded.

* The words of Shelley, in the cathedral of Pisa.

On the following day they pursued their route, and in two days reached Lyons. As they entered this city their carriage was impeded by an immense crowd, and it was with some difficulty that the gens d'armes, who were assembled, opened for them a passage. On arriving at the hotel they learnt that a serious disturbance had broken out, in consequence of great numbers of the workpeople having been recently thrown out of employment, and the wages of those who were employed having been materially reduced, and a further reduction contemplated. Those who expected this alteration were much incensed, and proposed uniting with the unemployed, to endeavour by intimidation to resist any further change. Lord Hampden occupied the following morning in inquiring into the actual condition of the working classes; and was fully satisfied that they had ample reason to complain, although, like the English artisan, they were ignorant of the real cause of their aggravated privations. They were prepared to inflict summary vengeance upon their employers, who were compelled by competition to adopt the most economical means in the production of their fabrics. Everywhere machinery in its progress was mischievous,—instead of producing its natural consequence under a truly social system, that of unmixed good.

Our travellers were happy to escape from the confusion at Lyons, and on the following day they reached Montpellier. They had not arrived an hour, before their dresses were changed and they had set out for the village of Lunel, which was distant only two miles. Dr. Bathurst knew nothing of Lord Hampden's intentions of visiting the Continent. The latter had addressed a letter to Mr. Sidney from Rouen, announcing his approach; but that gentleman having gone with his lady a short excursion to the Pyrenees, the letter remained unopened.

The house occupied by Dr. Bathurst stood in the centre of a large garden. The young ladies relieved each other in their attendance upon their father, who was confined to his bed-room. At the moment the travellers reached the outer gate, Mary (with a book in her hand) was crossing the avenue that led to the house. She mistook them for two neighbours, and turned down the avenue to meet them: but no sooner had she approached near enough to discover who they were, than her countenance betrayed the utmost confusion; and such was her agitation, that if Western had not caught her in his arms, she would have fallen. Upon being relieved of her bonnet, the coolness of the air soon revived her, when she made many apologies for her feelings of surprise, not having the slightest expectation of seeing

friends whom she had concluded were at a remote distance. The scene and the apologies were rather puzzling both to Lord Hampden and Henry: the latter, who had saved her from the fall and supported her for a short time, was so much interested in the circumstance, that it dwelt on his mind for the remainder of the day. When they reached the house, Mary recommended to them a walk round the grounds, to allow her time to break the intelligence of their arrival to her friends. The ladies thought it better to defer an interview with the vicar, who had experienced a favourable change, until the following day. Miss Bathurst came down as soon as Lord Hampden and Western entered the house. The meeting was interesting to all; and Elizabeth perceived, that if she could be reconciled to Lord Hampden's retaining his opinions on a momentous subject, his sentiments with regard to her, notwithstanding his elevation to the peerage, remained unchanged. They continued only half an hour, as the bell announced the want of some attendance up stairs.

Lord Hampden was highly gratified with his reception: and as for poor Western, the scene in which he had been an actor was so unaccountable, that he revolved it over and over in his mind, without being able to solve the difficulty. Besides the pleasure experienced in meeting his former friends and benefactors, he now felt an

emotion to which he was before a stranger. Lord Hampden's mind had been so much occupied with Elizabeth, that the effect of their sudden appearance upon Mary had been almost forgotten; and it was not until Henry, (by the most remote allusion to the circumstance which his ingenuity could devise,) awakened his remembrance, that it recurred to him. Then indeed he began to look out for the probable cause of so great a manifestation of feeling;—and for a moment he thought that an attachment must have subsisted between Henry and her: but it was for a moment only, as he banished the idea when he recollected that he had been known to the family only as the teacher at an infant school; and he then attributed her agitation to the delicate state of her health. As for Henry, he was not so soon quieted. He remembered her conduct towards him at the school; and he called to mind a variety of interesting circumstances, many of which were perhaps totally unconnected with the inferences he now deduced from them: but while supporting her on his arm, and sympathizing in her revival, he found her an object of deeper sympathy than he before experienced.

On the following morning she received the visitors with an animated countenance that bespoke returning health, and was the more cheerful, in consequence of the further improvement of her

father. It was evident that she felt emotions which she deemed it a duty to suppress, or to conceal;—and she might have been successful, had not her unsophisticated feelings betrayed her on the preceding day, which awakened the suspicions of Lord Hampden, and the warmer sympathy of Henry. The latter scarcely knew what manner to assume: for besides the recollection of the distance between them formerly, and of which he was constantly reminded by the subjects of their conversation, he was now perplexed by new feelings. This was the first time he had been with the family upon an equal footing: he feared to be guilty of presumption even in considering himself their friend;—a feeling that would not have arisen in any family he had not known in former times. This apprehension was however soon dissipated by Lord Hampden, who, tracing it to its origin, took more than his usual pains to raise him to a level with his friends. During Lord Hampden's interview with Dr. Bathurst, which lasted about an hour, Henry continued in conversation with the ladies; and his remarks convinced them that he had been diligent in his studies, and observing in his intercourse with society.

Lord Hampden was grieved to observe the wasted appearance of his good friend Dr. Bathurst, who gave him a most kind and hearty welcome, and was delighted once more to shake hands

with his pupil, as he jocosely called him. Alluding to his title, he asked significantly, if he might be allowed to congratulate him on his advancement. "I understand your question, my good friend," replied Lord Hampden; "I am ready to lay down my title whenever the public mind is sufficiently prepared to establish even one community upon a solid basis." "Still as sanguine as ever!" said Dr. Bathurst, while a faint smile lighted up his countenance;—"Well, I wish you success,—always hoping, however, that you will form correct and consolatory opinions regarding our final destiny."

Although Dr. Bathurst had kept up a correspondence with Lord Hampden, he had not been desirous of reviving the warm intimacy that formerly subsisted between them, as he wished to discourage the idea of a union between him and his daughter, notwithstanding the splendid rank he had attained; feeling assured that no substantial happiness could be gained, unless the former could have been prevailed upon to discard his sceptical opinions. The good and amiable Dr. Bathurst seemed doomed to experience a conflict between his sense of duty and his regard for Lord Hampden. This conflict was renewed by the journey to Lunel: and although delighted to see him, he was almost disposed to blame Mr. Sidney for adding the postscript to his

letter. He foresaw the impossibility of confining their intercourse to an occasional visit; the few English at the village rendered them more immediately dependent on each other for society, and compelled a close intimacy. He was not, however, destined to experience either the joys or the cares of life for any long period. The flattering appearances of convalescence were of short continuance; they were the prelude to his dissolution.

On the fifth day after the arrival of his friend, the good vicar became much weaker, and was unable to rise from his bed. Early in the morning he requested his daughter to send for Lord Hampden: who soon arrived; and sitting down by the bed-side, Dr. Bathurst extended his hand, and warmly grasped that of his lordship. For a time the good vicar was too feeble, and the latter too much agitated, to speak. At length, in faltering accents he addressed him as follows: "In a short time my earthly career will be terminated. I have not sent for you, my young friend, with the same object that Addison requested the Earl of Warwick to witness his death-bed scene,—as a reproof for his dissolute habits, and to awaken in him a sense of duty. I must do you the justice to admit that your moral conduct has been excellent; and your zeal in behalf of oppressed humanity, although in some respects misdirected, exceeds

that of any individual I am acquainted with. Convinced, however, that the promulgation of certain opinions may inflict greater injury upon society when imbibed by others of more selfish pursuits, I entreat, as my dying request, that you will seriously re-consider the grounds upon which you have formed those opinions. Sustained by religious hope, I await with tranquillity the approach of death. That religion which was the guide of my youth has proved my best safeguard in riper years, and a solace and comfort in declining life. It is from a heartfelt conviction of the sweet enjoyments of a steadfast faith, that I am anxious your mind should be imbued with the power of religion. It will mitigate the pain of this temporary separation from my friends who still sojourn upon earth, if you promise to return once more, with that sincere desire to discover truth which I believe generally actuates you, to the unbiassed investigation of this all-important subject,—one indeed that involves your eternal happiness.” While uttering these words he still held Lord Hampden’s hand, and affectionately pressed it. The latter was so much affected that he could scarcely speak. He assured his dying friend that, notwithstanding his repeated examinations, he should, in obedience to his last request, deem it a duty to return to the inquiry with more earnestness than ever; and he felt assured that if

he should be biassed by prejudice on either side, it would be on that to which his revered friend and all those he most valued were inclined. The vicar's efforts had been too much for him, and he reclined on his pillow apparently insensible. Lord Hampden rang for assistance; and on the application of vinegar to his temples he revived. Early on the next day his gentle spirit fled: his composed features bespoke the serenity of his departure, and resembled the tranquil slumbers and innocence of childhood.

The death of Dr. Bathurst proved a severe affliction to his daughters. Mr. and Mrs. Sidney had returned from the Pyrenees two days previously, and they proposed that the Misses Bathurst should, after the funeral, come and reside with them until their departure for England in a month, when they would accompany them. The good vicar had given express directions not to convey his remains to England, deeming it an unnecessary expense, and adding that any part of the globe was equally interesting to him in the contemplation of death. The funeral was attended by all the English in the place; for he had resided there long enough to secure their respect and veneration, and had availed himself of many opportunities for the exercise of his benevolence. Lord Hampden and his secretary joined the party in their journey to England; and the ladies found,

in the kind attention of their travelling companions, some mitigation of the loss they had sustained. Before they reached England, it appeared probable that the Baron and his secretary were likely to become more intimately allied to Elizabeth and Mary Bathurst.

CHAPTER IV.

“A brighter morn awaits the human day,
When every transfer of Earth’s natural gifts
Shall be a commerce of good words and works;
When poverty and wealth, the thirst of fame,
The fear of infamy, disease and woe,
War with its million horrors, and fierce hate,
Shall live but in the memory of Time,
Who, like a penitent libertine, shall start,
Look back, and shudder at his former years.”

SHELLEY.

It may in part be attributed to the glowing colours in which Mr. Owen had depicted the magnificence of the ulterior and astounding result of his plans, but which gave them a still more visionary aspect, that the literary characters of the day refrained from examining the details. But the indifference of the intelligent may chiefly be imputed to an opinion current among them, that human affairs are destined to experience perpetual vicissitudes. Historians themselves, as has been observed before, are less devoted to a philosophical investigation of the causes of events, than to a careful examination of dates and a faithful narration of facts. Hence it has been a favourite idea with them, to compare the



Rob. Owen

duration of states with the life of man, and to assign to them a succession of youth, vigour, and decay. They have overlooked the imperfection of the analogy, when contrasting a body tending, from the exercise of its functions, to decrepitude, and doomed, like all other physical compounds, to dissolution, with the structure of society,—which when once formed upon true principles, will, in consequence of the knowledge and power now attained by man, be as eternal as the laws of nature. Each generation will renovate with youth, and add to the stability of the social order.

Among those who have considered the lot of humanity as subject to never-ending changes of alternate good and evil, is to be found a distinguished exception to those historians who are too regardless of philosophical inquiry. Hume has maintained that there is a period in every empire from which its inevitable decline is marked: this remark he may have applied exclusively to the past records of time. “Such is the instability of human greatness,” says Potter in his *Antiquities of Greece*, “that the most splendid successes and the mightiest efforts of mind often pave the way for corruption of manners, depravation of taste, and laxity of principle.” Dr. Knox, in the Preface to his *Work on Education*, says: “It is by continual efforts that human affairs are preserved in a state of tolerable perfection. They

have a *natural* tendency to degenerate." Lord Littleton, in his *Observations on the Life of Cicero*, says; "Among all the celebrated characters in the Roman history, there are none more worthy our attention, than those great men who were at the head of the Republic when she was arrived at her highest degree of power and glory, and by a *natural* consequence of excessive prosperity was fallen into those vices and corruptions which soon after produced a change of government, and brought her into an infamous slavery."

Burke also remarks, "I doubt whether the history of mankind is yet complete enough, *if ever it can be so*, to furnish grounds for a sure theory on the internal causes which necessarily affect the fortune of a state." And Polybius said, "Carthage, being so much older than Rome, felt her decay so much the sooner." In opposition to these we have Playfair, who, in the Preface to his *Fall of Nations*, proves that the oscillation between prosperity and decline in nations is to be attributed to accidental, and not to permanent causes. Murray, in his *Inquiry into the Character of Nations*, has also successfully combated the inevitable decline of nations, in his chapter on the *Oscillatory Tendency in Human Affairs*; of which he says, "It is only in the imperfect and floating state of a science, that it is liable to be tossed up and down in this manner."

Ferguson, in his *Essay on Civil Society*, ascribes the fall of nations to their policy being directed rather to maintain peace and repress the external effects of bad passions, than to strengthen the disposition of the heart itself to justice and goodness. But the writings of Dugald Stewart more than those of any other author, excepting those who have recognised the recent discovery of a happier constitution of society, abound in confident anticipation of the permanent influence of true principles, when once they have acquired the ascendancy.

“The science of legislation, too,” says this elegant writer, “with all the other branches of knowledge which are connected with human improvement, may be expected to advance with rapidity; and, in proportion as the opinions and institutions of men approach to truth and to justice, they will be secured against those revolutions to which human affairs have always been hitherto subject. *Opinionum enim commenta delet dies, naturæ judicia confirmat.*” And again: “As in ancient Rome, therefore, it was regarded as the mark of a good citizen, never to despair of the fortunes of the republic;—so the good citizen of the world, whatever may be the political aspect of his own times, will never despair of the fortunes of the human race; but will act upon the conviction, that prejudice, slavery, and corruption,

must gradually give way to truth, liberty, and virtue; and that in the moral world, as well as in the material, the further our observations extend, and the longer they are continued, the more we shall perceive of order and of benevolent design in the universe."

The uncompromising tone of Mr. Owen's language, and the low estimate in which he held the talents of his opponents, were calculated to inflame rather than dispel their prejudices. Self-educated himself, and yet triumphant where the learning of the schools had failed, he brought truths to light, which the erudite scholar, as well as those most esteemed for arduous research, were unable to comprehend.—As some of the particulars of his life are interesting, the following summary is formed from the few materials I have been able to collect.

Mr. Robert Owen was born at Newtown, in Montgomeryshire, in the year 1771. He came to London when about ten years of age: soon after he resided with Mr. James M'Guffog, at Stamford in Lincolnshire, where he remained upwards of three years. He then returned to the metropolis, and was a short time with Messrs. Flint and Palmer in the Borough. He went thence to Manchester, and was some time with Mr. John Suttersfield, whom he left while yet a boy to commence business on a limited scale, in making



Low Land.

machinery, and spinning cotton—part of the time in partnership with Mr. Jones, and part on his own account. He afterwards undertook to manage the spinning establishments of Mr. Drinkwater, at Manchester, and at Northwich in Cheshire, in which occupation he remained three or four years. He then formed a partnership to carry on a cotton-spinning business with Messrs. Moulson and Scarth of Manchester; built the Charlton Mills, and commenced a new firm in partnership with Messrs. Borrodaile and Atkinson of London, and Messrs. Barton and Co. of Manchester. Some time afterwards, in conjunction with his partners, he purchased the mills and establishments at New Lanark of Mr. Dale, whose eldest daughter he married on the 30th of September 1799. He has had four sons and three daughters.—In consequence of a dissolution of partnership, the whole property,—comprehending the entire village of New Lanark,—was put up to public sale. Mr. Owen, being desirous of uniting with him those individuals whose benevolence exceeded the desire of pecuniary gain, succeeded in organizing a firm, consisting of the following individuals;—Mr. Walker, formerly a Member of the Society of Friends, who had three shares; the late Mr. Jeremy Bentham, one share; Mr. Michael Gibbs, member of the Church of England, one share; Mr. William Allen (of Plough-

court, Lombard-street), Mr. Joseph Fox, and Mr. Joseph Forster, members of the Society of Friends, one share each; retaining five shares himself,—making in all thirteen shares. Mr. Owen was the highest bidder at this sale. Besides the profits arising from his shares, Mr. Owen was to be allowed one thousand a-year for his superintendence and management.

The objects which the partners, and more particularly Mr. Owen, had in view in forming this connexion, was the power which it would give them of controlling, to a great extent, the circumstances of a population consisting of two thousand five hundred persons. Accordingly they succeeded in a great degree in banishing vice and crime, and in introducing sobriety and general good conduct. It was here that the Infant School originated; and that first established in London was the one in Vincent-square, Westminster, still under the management of Buchanan, a teacher from New Lanark. Full particulars of Mr. Owen's progress and regulations at New Lanark are to be found in his "Essays on the Formation of Character."—Many of the superficial visitors to this establishment went away with the impression that they had seen the social system;—as if the whole population were to become cotton-spinners, and the children of the poor be taught to dance quadrilles. All that was

attempted at New Lanark was this,—to convince society that by improving the circumstances surrounding an individual, his moral character is improved; thence leading to the conclusion that a combination of the best circumstances exclusively would form the best general character.

Mr. Owen first attracted general attention by an address delivered at Glasgow, at a public dinner given to Joseph Lancaster, in the year 1812, in which he adverted to the wonderful power of machinery, and the immense amount of human labour which was thereby superseded. His first estimate of this power, though it did not amount to one sixth of the real total, was considered so extravagant that he was called on to furnish his data. In looking over these, he discovered how much he had underrated this power; and his subsequent statements on the subject, though they still fell short of the reality, astonished every one.

Soon after this he published his “Observations on the Effect of the Manufacturing System: with Hints for the Improvement of those parts of it which are most injurious to Health and Morals.” To the third edition, in 1818, were added—a Letter to the Earl of Liverpool on the “Employment of Children in Manufactories*,” one to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the “Union of Churches and Schools;”

* See Appendix B.

and an "Address to the British Master Manufacturers." The most important of Mr. Owen's works is that entitled "A New View of Society; or Essays on the Formation of the Human Character," first published in 1813, and circulated among the principal political, literary and religious characters in this country and on the continent, as well as among the governments of Europe, America, and British India. In this work he establishes his great and fundamental principle, "That any general character, from the best to the worst, from the most ignorant to the most enlightened, may be given to any community, even to the world at large, by the application of proper means; which means are to a great extent at the command, and under the controul of those who have influence in the affairs of men." He proves also that with regard to the individual, "the character of man is without a single exception always formed *for* him; that it may be, and is, chiefly created by his predecessors; that they give him, or may give him, his ideas and habits, which are the powers that govern and direct his conduct. Man, therefore, never did, nor is it possible he ever can, form his own character:" and further, that "the will of man has no power whatever over his opinions; he must, and ever did, and ever will, believe what has been, is, or may be impressed on his mind by his predecessors, and

the circumstances which surround him." Thus he asserts that both the *feelings* and *opinions* are not at the control of the individual; and the position is maintained by the most convincing arguments.

In 1816 he delivered an excellent address to the inhabitants of New Lanark, on opening their Institution.

The year 1817 was a grand climacteric in Mr. Owen's career. A more extraordinary sensation was never before produced by the proceedings of any single individual so little known to the public at large as was Mr. Owen at this period. Those who attended the meetings at the City of London Tavern in the autumn of this year, or noticed the wide circulation of the Reports of the meetings, can never forget the intense excitement that prevailed. On the 14th and 21st of August the first two meetings took place: at the second he observed, "Were every shilling of your national debt and taxes removed tomorrow, and were the Government wholly unpaid for all its services,—in a very few years, either this or some other country must suffer more than you now experience. Mechanism, which may be made the greatest of blessings to humanity, is, under the existing arrangements, its greatest curse. Those who direct the affairs of men, ought to make themselves masters of this subject, and thoroughly understand all its

mighty influence and consequences. They are overwhelmed with the labour of picking useless straws, while they ought to be engaged in gathering the most precious and valuable of all products; and which they might collect in unlimited quantities, with only the labour they now bestow in collecting the veriest trash. Investigate this subject now, or ere long dire necessity will compel you to give due attention to it. We, and all countries, are already so placed by it, that a very large portion of human beings are thrown idle greatly against their will, and they must be supported or starve, or be so placed as to be enabled to create their own subsistence. Something, therefore, must be done for them, and done soon, or society will speedily be in a confusion of which the human mind can previously form but inadequate conceptions. That something, must be employment on land. There is no alternative." The consequences of the progress of machinery have been a longer period manifesting themselves in the more aggravated form here described; but society is unhappily verging with too much speed towards a state of anarchy and confusion, in which it may be difficult to secure attention to any truths. If those who influence the public mind could be induced to examine the subject thoroughly, and act accordingly, peace, security, and happiness might still be the portion even of the present generation.

Mr. Owen had already said sufficient at the public meetings regarding his own opinions on the subject of religion, to rescue him from the charge of insincerity or of any compromise of principle, when he deemed it necessary to put forth a paper condemnatory of faith. The crowds that before surrounded him departed, and nothing could induce the large majority of mankind to listen to any propositions, connected however remotely with his name*. He purchased, at three different times within one month, twenty thousand newspapers containing accounts of these meetings, which he sent all over the country, and to various parts of the world, at a cost of fifteen hundred pounds.

In 1818 Mr. Owen went to France, Germany, and the Netherlands, and visited Fellenberg's establishment at Hofwyl in Switzerland. It was in this excursion that he delivered his Memorials

* "But of all the prepossessions in the minds of the hearers which tend to impede or counteract the design of the speaker, party-spirit, where it happens to prevail, is the most pernicious, being at once the most inflexible and the most unjust. If the speaker and the hearers, or the bulk of the hearers, be of contrary parties, their minds will be more prepossessed against him, though his life were ever so blameless, than if he were a man of the most flagitious manners, but of the same party. This holds but too much alike of all parties, religious and political; violent party-men not only lose all sympathy with those of the opposite side, but contract an antipathy to them. This, on some occasions, even the divinest eloquence will not surmount."—CAMPBELL'S *Philosophy of Rhetoric*.

to the Congress assembled at that time at Aix-la-Chapelle. These Memorials are at once so brief and comprehensive, that I strongly recommend them to general perusal; as they afford undeniable proofs of the following results, which he stated he had derived from long study and experience.

*“*First general Result.*—That the period is arrived when the means are become obvious, by which, without force or fraud of any kind, riches may be created in such abundance, and so advantageously for all, that the wants and desires of every human being may be more than satisfied.

“In consequence, the dominion of wealth, and the evils arising from the desire to acquire and accumulate riches, are on the point of terminating.

“*Second general Result.*—That the period is arrived when the principles of the science are become obvious, by which, without force or punishment of any kind, the rising generation may be, with ease and advantage to all, surrounded by new circumstances, which will form them into any character that society may predetermine; and if any defect shall afterwards appear in those characters, except what nature has made uncontrollable by human means, the cause will not be in the individuals, but it will be solely owing to the inexperience of the parties who attempt to put those invaluable principles into practice.

* See Appendix C.

“In consequence, the dominion of ignorance, of fraud and violence, is also on the point of terminating.

“*Third general Result.*—That it is the interest, and it will soon appear to be the interest, of each individual, in every rank, in all countries, that judicious measures should be adopted, with the least delay, to secure those beneficial results in practice. It is, however, greatly to be desired that they should be carried into effect by general consent, gradually and temperately, in order that no party or individual may be injured by the changes which must necessarily arise.

“In consequence, any attempt to stop or retard the introduction of these measures will be unavailing. Already the principles and consequent practice are placed beyond the power of human assault. It will be found that silence cannot now retard their progress, and that opposition will give increased celerity to its movements.”

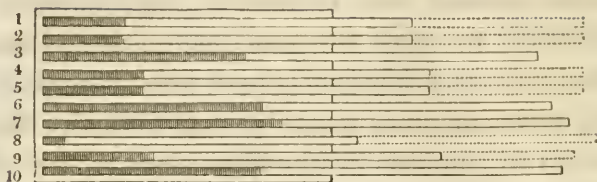
In the spring of 1819 Mr. Owen was a candidate for a seat in parliament, but was not successful. He also published about this time “An Address to the Working Classes,” in which he says, “Heed not what men with fanciful theories, and without practical knowledge, may say. Many of them, I have no doubt, mean well; but be assured, that whatever tends to irritation and violence, proceeds from the most gross ignorance

of human nature, and evinces an utter inexperience in those practical measures by which alone society can be relieved from the evils which it has long suffered.”—It was in this year, the 26th of June, that the Duke of Kent, with the Duke of Sussex on his left, presided at one of the public meetings at Freemasons’ Hall, convened by Mr. Owen.—The Duke of Kent presided at another meeting at the same place on the 26th of July, for the purpose of receiving the Report of the Committee, the substance of which was as follows: “That the Committee had met several times under the presidency of the Royal Chairman, and had further examined Mr. Owen’s plans. That the concurrent testimony of all who had visited New Lanark convinced them of the efficacy of the plan there in operation for the promotion of the comfort and morality of the persons in that establishment. That though Mr. Owen’s proposed plan differed from that pursued at New Lanark, still it resembled it sufficiently to induce the Committee to recommend the foundation of a single establishment as an experiment.” It was at this meeting that Mr. Thelwall said, in reply to one who objected that the scheme would make mere machines of men, “That if it did make them machines, they would be machines of which intellect would be the moving spring.”

The Report was ultimately adopted, and reso-

lutions entered into to raise a subscription of 100,000*l.* to carry the proposed measure into effect. Several thousand pounds were subscribed, and sufficient funds were obtained to induce the parties to purchase five hundred acres of land at Motherwell, near Hamilton; but as an adequate sum could not be raised, the design was ultimately abandoned, and the land resold.—In furtherance of the object, however, meetings of the principal gentry of the county had taken place in 1821, and committees of investigation were appointed. It was on this occasion that Mr. Owen published his “Report to the County of Lanark,” in which he proposed his plan of a Labour Exchange Note, in lieu of the old circulating medium. This Report is also valuable from the excellent remarks on spade husbandry, and some other details connected with an improved state of society.

In the early part of the year 1823 Mr. Owen visited Ireland. His public meetings in Dublin were numerous, attended, and produced great excitement. An account of the addresses delivered at these meetings, as well as of the subsequent discussions, were given in a small work, from which the following illustrations of some of his views are extracted.—He exhibited a brass plate, of which the wood-cut is a representation: it assisted in rendering the subject more clear.



- | | |
|------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Strength. | 6. Memory. |
| 2. Courage. | 7. Imagination. |
| 3. Excitability. | 8. Judgement. |
| 4. Perception. | 9. Affections. |
| 5. Reflection. | 10. Self Love. |

The wood-cut represents a block of metal or wood, in which ten slides move in grooves, so as to push out laterally to any proportion of their length, and thus represent any required combination. The slides, as they now stand, represent human nature in the inharmonious proportions produced by the present mode of education. The dotted lines show the position of the slides when human nature shall have justice done to it by a rational education. Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9 will then be drawn out to the full extent of the horizontal dotted lines which cross them, representing a compound proportioned so as to produce the most delightful effects.

“In consequence of the universal error that has hitherto prevailed, that the character is formed *by* the individual, the attention of society has never been directed to the consideration of what those circumstances are, which are calculated to call forth the best and most valuable parts of our nature. Our arrangements have been so formed, and they are now so combined, as to cherish and encourage the growth of every bad passion and

propensity that can be implanted in our nature, rendering even the best men very inferior beings, and filling them with the worst feelings.

“The physical powers of the child, as represented on slides (Nos. 1, 2), have been imperfectly developed. His excitability (No. 3), has been most artificially cultivated, so as to produce irritation and anger. His perceptive and reflective powers (Nos. 4, 5), have been very partially called into action. His memory and imagination (Nos. 6, 7), have been stretched to the uttermost, the latter being made the ruling faculty throughout society. Judgement (No. 8), has been repressed or destroyed, as far as human devices could effect such an object, and in all cases made subservient to imagination. The affections (No. 9), have been contracted within very narrow bounds, and placed under the influence of self-attachment or self-interest (No. 10), which has been cultivated with the greatest care and effect.

“By this procedure human nature has experienced every kind of disadvantage, and its true character been hidden. Whenever justice shall be done to our nature, the education of all will be very different from anything which has been known at any time, in any part of the world.

“The physical powers (Nos. 1, 2), will be fully developed—excitability will be repressed—perception and reflection will be extended to their

utmost limits—memory will not be cultivated independently of judgement—judgement will be cultivated with the greatest care, and be made the ruling power of the mind, and the director of all the faculties and propensities.

“The affections will be expanded, and, under the guidance of the judgement, extended to every human being, and to all the animated works of the creation.

“Self-attachment, or self-interest, in the common acceptation of the term, will become extinct; for although a desire of happiness will then be, as it is now, our principle of action, yet we shall know and feel that our own happiness can only be found in the happiness of those around us, extending from an immediate circle, even to those who may be the most remote from us.

“So great is the difference, in regard to the education of human nature, arising from two systems of society, of which the one proceeds on the supposition that the character is formed *by* the individual, and the other founded on the knowledge that the character is formed *for* him!

“The one is the source of all error and evil,—the other the foundation of truth and happiness.”

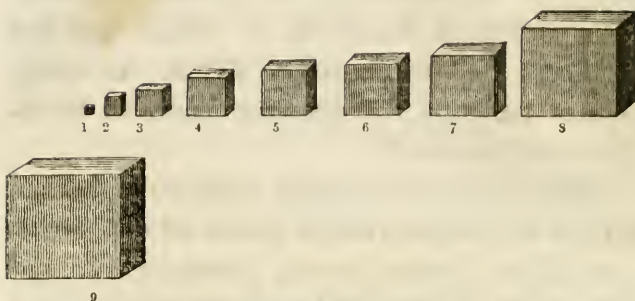
To be convinced of the melancholy consequences of the ill-regulated excitements in the present disordered state of society, arising from false systems of education and from pernicious

institutions, we have only to inquire into the history of the inmates of our Lunatic Asylums, —the origin of five-sixths of whose maladies may be traced to pecuniary distress, to disappointed ambition, to wounded pride, or to religious enthusiasm*.

When the use of money shall be dispensed with, it will cease to be the root of all evil; ambition will be displaced by the glowing sympathies of humanity; pride will have no pabulum to feed upon; and men, taught to look through nature up to nature's God, will be rescued from the extravagancies of fanaticism: exploring the works of creation, and enlarging their minds by philosophy, they will form juster views of their relative duties in society, and a more exalted idea of the character of the Deity.

It was at the public meeting in Dublin that Mr. Owen used metal cubes of the relative proportions represented in the following wood-cut. Nos. 1 to 8 represent the proportions which the different classes in society bear to each other; I have added another column to the description, showing the proportion that each class bears to the whole population of the British Isles, according to the census of 1811.

* See Appendix D.



Cubes.	Description of Classes represented.	Heads of Families.	Total Persons composing their Families.	Proportion of each to the whole.
1	The Royal Family, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, &c.....	576	2880	5936
2	Dignified Clergy (under the rank of Bishops), Lawyers, Physicians, Merchants, Manufacturers, Bankers, &c. of the first order.....	12,200	61,000	280
3	Baronets, Country Gentlemen, and others having large incomes	46,861	234,305	72
4	Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, Soldiers, Seamen, Marines and Pensioners of the Army and Navy.....	130,500	931,000	18
5	Respectable Clergymen and Freeholders, Lawyers, Merchants, &c. of the second order, living on moderate incomes	233,650	1,168,250	15
6	Paupers, Vagrants, idle and disorderly Persons, Criminals, &c.....	387,100	1,828,170	9
7	Lesser Freeholders, Shopkeepers, &c.	564,799	2,798,475	6
8	Working Mechanics, Artisans, agricultural and other Labourers, including menial Servants	2,126,095	10,072,722	$\frac{3}{8}$
9	Aggregate of the above.....Total	3,501,781	17,096,803	

“No. 1.—*The Royal Family, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, &c.*

“It is to be doubted, whether the existing notions and arrangements of society do not necessarily inflict more misery upon the individuals who are born in, or who attain to, this division, than is experienced by those of any other class. They cannot, however, from their situation, be conscious of the injustice which they suffer from the artificial circumstances in which they are placed, or they would form other arrangements more congenial to human nature.”

It may also be observed, that this division, so insignificant in point of number as to be about a *six thousandth* part of the whole population, had at one time almost the exclusive government of the country. From their position in society they are exposed to every kind of temptation and flattery,—wretchedly educated, full of factitious desires, and taught to regard themselves as superior to their fellow-creatures;—imbecility of mind and inferior morals are the inevitable consequence. Yet by such individuals had the direction of the affairs of a great empire been for a long period usurped until the Reform in Parliament abridged their power.

No. 2.—*The dignified Clergy (under the rank of Bishops), Lawyers, Physicians, Merchants,*

Manufacturers, Bankers, &c., of the first order.

“These are the most fortunate, or successful, out of the division No. 5, and are essentially injured by being compelled to expend more than can be beneficial to them physically or mentally.”

No. 3.—*Baronets, Country Gentlemen, and others having large incomes.*

“The preceding observations apply equally to this class.”

No. 4.—*The Army and Navy*

“are taken chiefly from the working classes. They are thereby withdrawn from being producers; they become consumers only, and they are often made to destroy what others have toiled to create. In every point of view, war is highly injurious. Its spirit proceeds from an error in principle respecting human nature. It diminishes production, not only by taking away the producers, but by employing them, so withdrawn, to consume, waste and destroy the productions of others. It demoralizes the individuals who compose an army, as well as the inhabitants of the country which is the scene of war. It is, in short, an evil of the greatest magnitude to the human species; and whenever we become rational, wars will cease.”

No. 5.—*Respectable Clergymen and Freeholders, Lawyers, Merchants, &c. of the second order, living on moderate incomes.*

“Many of these are occupied as much as the working classes, and lead a life which requires many sacrifices, and often for little comfort in return. Some of them are uselessly, while others are injuriously, employed ; but none of them are occupied to produce the best results in their avocations or professions.”

No. 6.—*Paupers, Vagrants, idle and disorderly Persons, Criminals, &c.*

“It is probable that the number of this class has been greatly increased ; and the whole amount of paupers, criminals, &c. forms at least one tenth, many suppose one eighth, of the population. This portion of the people is supported by the industrious among the working classes ; including the small freeholders who cultivate their own lands. Thus it appears, that in the present system, one tenth at least of its subjects are allowed to be trained and placed under circumstances so impolitic and unfavourable that they must remain in ignorance,—often become deformed in body, and always in mind,—taught to be vicious, and to be a burden to the community. It is not that these form a heavy charge only on the industry of the working classes, to give them

a direct miserable support, but they also create a much greater loss to society by making prisons, courts of law, and all the endless appendages to criminal justice, necessary;—and still more by the incalculable expenditure of all the upper class, —to protect themselves and property from this irritated portion of their fellow-creatures.”

No. 7.—Lesser Freeholders, Shopkeepers, &c.

“The capital, skill, and labour of these persons are employed in the most wasteful and injurious manner to themselves, families, and the public. The lesser freeholders hold so small a quantity of land, that they cannot arrange a plan of cultivation for it, which will not be very defective. They are also usually deficient in capital, education, and knowledge, and do little more than vegetate upon their farms. The shopkeepers expend large sums in fitting up their shops, and consume much time in measures to distribute the necessaries, comforts, and luxuries, throughout society. Under other arrangements, this object could be far better accomplished by one twentieth the number, and one hundredth part of the capital. There is no portion of the working classes, whose powers are so wretchedly misapplied, as those who are obliged to waste their time as retail traders, and more especially in villages and small towns; although the extrava-

gance of this arrangement, even in the largest cities, greatly exceeds what any parties at present imagine."

No. 8.—The Working Classes.

"With the exception of the small freeholders, this is the class which produces all the wealth that is requisite for the well-being and happiness of society. It is the class from which all the others derive support, and is therefore the most important.

"It is the interest of all, from the highest to the lowest, that the largest amount of wealth should be created by this class; but yet so erroneous have been the ideas, which even now prevail, that almost all classes seem engaged in the most active measures to render their labours of the least value."

To be convinced of the truth of this concluding remark, we have only to observe the immense numbers employed in useless fabrics, trinkets, &c.; cultivating the raw material,—if a vegetable, transporting it, preparing it through all its variety of processes, and vending it;—if a mineral, procuring it from the mines, refining it, &c.: and all this not merely to gratify a harmless, but an injurious vanity,—injurious not only to adults, but to the rising generation.

The striking synopsis which Mr. Owen here

presents of the wasteful and injurious follies of society,—if such a heterogeneous mass of error and conflicting interests and feelings can deserve the name,—must have arrested the attention even of superficial observers, had not party and sectarian animosities entirely engrossed them*.

If all our capital and labour,—if the millions of unemployed, half-employed, uselessly or injuriously employed people; all our stores and treasures,—some lying idle, some unproductively expended, or not laid out to the best advantage, and some hurtfully squandered away,—if all our labourers, mechanics, manufacturing workmen,—if all our servants, carriers, tradesmen, shopkeepers, clerks and lawyers who could be spared by the abandonment of large towns or cities for communities of moderate size, which would consume on the spot of production, by combining the interests of all, and directing them to one

* “Where distinctions exist, many evils will be sure to follow, as long as human nature is in an imperfect state. Talents, or the power of fixing attention and raising admiration, will be valued above virtues; and the more popular talents will occupy, in the estimate of ambition, a higher rank than those that are useful. Consequently, we must expect, wherever opportunities present themselves, to see on the one hand, pride, vanity, arrogance, love of display, boasting, selfishness, conscious superiority, and a susceptibility of offence; while on the other, we shall witness an equally offensive exhibition of envy, suspicion, imputation of evil, exultation over failures, and a disposition to magnify and report offences.”—*James’s Christian Charity explained.*



"A beam of tranquillity shed in the West."

object ;—if all these were employed as œconomically as such a union would occasion, in agriculture, gardening, planting; making and working machinery; raising and furnishing useful buildings; constructing advantageous roads and communications; making articles of real use and ornament, and forwarding beneficial inventions,—these islands, in the course of a few years, would be adorned with palaces in the midst of beautiful and luxuriant gardens and parks.—It was in contemplating such a picture that a young artist sketched a design for a community in Ireland, writing beneath a line from one of Moore's stanzas:

“A beam of tranquillity smil'd in the West.”

In the year 1824 Mr. Owen crossed the Atlantic, to negotiate for the purchase of New Harmony, the settlement of Mr. Rapp and his followers. While in the United States, he delivered lectures to large assemblages in Philadelphia, and presented to the Government an expensive and elaborate model of one of the magnificent edifices he had projected.

Latterly he has been engaged in organizing Equitable Exchange Bazaars, which, however they may afford some relief to a few artizans who can work at their own houses, are not likely to extend their benefits far,—still less to become national, unless the Government were to sanction them. But if the Ministers were disposed to render

equity universal, they could, with equal facility, form communities justly organized, beginning with those who are now destitute of employment. In the mean time these bazaars are useful in attracting attention to Mr. Owen's Works, and to other proposed measures with which his name is connected,—provided it is understood that they form no part of the constitution of society he is advocating, and that they are intended as alleviations only of the misery resulting from an erroneous system. Mr. Owen would, however, be much more usefully and more agreeably occupied, if, leaving the formation of these bazaars to others, he had travelled from place to place, and disseminated a knowledge of his truths by means of public lectures.

Since his resignation of the management of New Lanark, Mr. Owen has not been so successful in any of his practical operations. His failure most probably arises from the great attention bestowed upon general principles not permitting him leisure to watch the details of minor operations; or to the loss of his habits of close application, occasioned by a constant and varied intercourse with society. It may also be partly ascribed to the greater excitement to which, of late years, he has been subjected when appealing to the millions in Europe and America. But, whatever may be the cause, certain it is that many of

the measures adopted with the view of affording immediate relief, or of securing the attention and aid of the influential, or of society at large, have failed in producing the contemplated effect. There is a peculiarity, however, in his personal character, which may have prevented him from deriving assistance from those who, in consequence of long-continued attention to the subject, were best qualified to aid him. Successful above all his contemporaries in detecting the real cause of distress, and in developing the true principles of society, and seldom finding congeniality of opinion, he concluded that no one was competent to the subject but himself, as no one besides had had the same experience in practice. The consequence of this impression was an apparent egotism, notwithstanding his sincere disavowal of the desire of fame, in the advocacy of a system which professes to lose sight of the individual in the species, and to recognise no one apart and distinct from the rest. It has also led to a disregard of the most intelligent in society, and driven from him those who, from their acquirements and merited reputation, might, after studying the subject, have been greatly instrumental in spreading a knowledge of truth far and wide.—To assert that personal experience in actual practice is the only mode by which a knowledge of true principles can be acquired, is to deprive the

system of its character as a science. A knowledge of the successful experiments of others is sufficient to establish in our minds the truths of any science; and a perfect theory may be understood, nay must be understood, previous to its practical confirmation. Besides, Mr. Owen was himself destitute of experience in the application to practice of the new combination of political and domestic economy; for even to this day it has had no palpable existence. Had he possessed the skill to form and hold together a compact body of some of those who were most in advance of their age, he would have retained the power, to which a cheerful obedience would have been yielded, of directing the movement of all its members to the good of society. Each individual gradually, but inevitably, would have risen to the comprehension of all his truths, and finally have been able to go forth and form in another part of the country, or of the world, a similar nucleus.

A still more important error than the repulse of the influential was committed by Mr. Owen and some of his friends, through an amiable but injudiciously directed feeling. Conceiving that their principles demanded an endeavour to exercise sympathy towards all, irrespective of conduct, they were not sufficiently careful by including in their associations those only whose characters were irreproachable; it was therefore

to be expected that all who had forfeited their claims to respect, would be too happy to seek shelter and obtain consideration in the midst of a society which, had it been properly formed, those most distinguished for talent and good feeling would have been eager to enroll themselves as members. Thus it was that when the dissolute or the designing characters betrayed themselves, their irregularities and vices were held up as the consequences of the principles they professed, and brought discredit upon those with whom they had associated.

But the occasions upon which Mr. Owen's abilities were exerted to the greatest advantage were at the large public meetings, when his code was proclaimed to the whole globe, and all its inhabitants, as it were, composed his audience. His premeditated language, as well as his extemporaneous addresses, were pregnant with irresistible truths, and delivered with a fervour of eloquence rarely equalled.

However superior, in an extended view of the subject, to many others who participated in his opinions, there was an application of the principle under existing circumstances which Mr. Owen overlooked,—that of creating among his followers a bond of mutual attachment and affection, similar to that by which, through a congeniality of mind, many sectarian congregations

are held together. All sects appeared to co-operate more cordially than professed co-operators; and those who boasted a knowledge of truth unmingled with error, exhibited, in this respect at least, less of moral feeling than the advocates of mystery. When Mr. Owen, ten years after the promulgation of his views, lectured, during 1830 and 1831, at the Mechanics' Institution, the Sans Souci Theatre, and at the room near Burton Crescent, the meetings were very small, and the majority of those who attended appeared to go rather in a spirit of hostility to the Church and to the Aristocracy, than from the attractions of a system which promised to bury all past errors in oblivion.

Society, in the true sense of the word, implies a number of individuals united for the purpose of promoting their physical, intellectual, and moral improvement, individually and collectively, and who are convinced that the surest way of securing these advantages is, by each endeavouring to promote the welfare of all,—regarding himself as a constituent part of the whole, sympathizing in the sorrow, and participating in the joys of every member.—Let us consider how two or three individuals, having their physical wants supplied either by private fortune or professional pursuits, convinced of these truths, and desirous of attracting the attention of mankind to their efficacy,

would proceed. They would endeavour to realize, as far as circumstances permitted, those pleasures of sympathy which result from congenial feelings and objects, and which must be infinitely more grateful as those feelings and objects are the more exalted. "Doing good," says Sir Philip Sidney, "is the only certainly happy action of a man's life." They would exemplify in their own conduct towards each other, and to external society, the happy result of true principles.

For their moral and intellectual culture, the three friends meet two or three times a week, or oftener if possible. They regard themselves as forming one body. Is a fault committed? it is not considered by whom, but it is repaired in the same spirit as if it were committed by each; for the cause is to be found either in a less perfect organization of that member, or in a deficient amount of moral feeling in their body:—in either case the remedy is to be attempted by striving to infuse a larger portion of health or moral feeling into the whole body, and this is effected by still more arduous endeavours to strengthen their minds and purify their hearts. In this manner would they correct each other's errors, and share each other's virtues. Such a procedure would be in strict accordance with the idea conveyed to the mind by St. Paul: "So we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another."

And what is the consequence if one of our members be afflicted? In the case of an injured arm for instance, the whole body suffers and sympathizes; we not only refrain from greater indulgence, but are more abstemious than usual, and a more exclusive attention is devoted to the afflicted member: it becomes the subject of our constant attention and care; and even when it is restored to health and usefulness, we recollect that it is more liable to be affected by future accidents and contingencies than any other part of the body, and therefore demands more vigilant protection. Thus would it be with a member of this society afflicted with any moral evil, traced as it would be to the mal-conformation of the individual member or to the unhealthy state of the whole body, in which greater care might have prevented the aberration: the member becomes at once an object of anxious solicitude; he is soothed by the most tender attentions; the kindest sympathy alleviates his regret, and animates him to renewed exertions.

By such means they could not fail to increase in intellectual power, in kind feelings, in general usefulness, and most certainly in happiness. Such a society would realize upon an extended scale the idea of true friendship expressed by Cicero in the following passage. "Whoever is in possession of a true friend sees the exact

counterpart of his own soul. In consequence of this moral resemblance between them, they are so intimately *one*, that no advantage can attend either, which does not equally communicate itself to both: they are strong in the strength, rich in the opulence, and powerful in the power of each other. They can scarcely indeed be considered in any respect as separate individuals; and wherever the one appears, the other is virtually present. I will venture even a bolder assertion, and affirm that in despite of death they must both continue to exist, so long as either of them shall remain alive. For the deceased may, in a certain sense, be said still to live, whose memory is preserved with the highest veneration and the most tender regret in the bosom of the survivor;—a circumstance which renders the former happy in death, and the latter honoured in life*.” Pursuing their object in earnest sincerity, they would in a year

* The following affecting instance of a similar devoted friendship is related by D’Israeli. “Some unexpected event occurs which gives the first great impulse to the mind of genius. Mendelsohn received this from the companion of his misery and his studies, a man of congenial but maturer powers. He was a Polish Jew expelled from the communion of the orthodox; and the calumniated student was now a vagrant, with more sensibility than fortitude. But this vagrant was a philosopher, a poet, a naturalist, and a mathematician. Mendelsohn, at a distant day, never alluded to him without tears. Thrown together in the same situation, they approached each other by the same sympathies; and communicating in the only language

form a collective mind of considerable power.— Let us suppose that one were distinguished by a tenacious memory, another were a good logician, and the third gifted with a vivid imagination. If a composition was wanted, such a composition would receive the benefit of their varied talents, and be at once copious and felicitous in its illustration, clear in its reasoning, embellished by the chaste ornaments of fancy, and elevated by an expanded imagination. One of the leading objects would of course be to qualify themselves for public speaking, and reading lectures in the most impressive manner.

No period in the past history of the world appears to have been so well prepared for the reception of truth as the present. When Luther preached, he could find few willing auditors but which Mendelsohn could speak, the Polander voluntarily undertook his literary education.

“Then was seen one of the most extraordinary spectacles in the history of modern literature. Two houseless Hebrew youths might be discovered in the moonlit streets of Berlin, sitting in retired corners, or on the steps of some porch, the one instructing the other, with an Euclid in his hand:—but what is more extraordinary, it was a Hebrew version, composed by the master for a pupil who knew no other language. Who could then have imagined that the future Plato of Germany was sitting on these steps!

“The Polander, whose deep melancholy had settled in his heart, died;—yet he had not lived in vain, since the electric spark that lighted up the soul of Mendelsohn had fallen from his own.”

the ignorant:—now, it would be difficult to collect an audience in which a considerable degree of intelligence did not prevail. In his days both readers and books were scarce:—now, they are increased a thousand-fold. The minds of men were at that time shrouded in darkness, and sunk in torpor:—now, they are cultivated, conscious of existing error, and eager to inquire.

To return to our triumvirate.—If, before the public, they exhibited any irritability from the annoyance of ignorant or sarcastic opposition, or attempted to retaliate in the same style, this would be a subject for correction; and by degrees they would become attractive as public lecturers. Their whole conduct would prove to the world that they were not seeking a triumph, that they were not endeavouring to expose the ignorance of their opponents,—but that they were actuated by a real desire to inform them, and advance their happiness. They would deem it not only unnecessary, but detrimental to their cause, to attack a prevailing opinion, however wrong,—satisfied that the exposition of an opposite truth was alone sufficient for its renouncement. Some have maintained that before error was destroyed, truth could not be admitted;—as if the mind, like a vessel, must be emptied of its contents ere new propositions can be received. But the darkness of

error must remain until it is expelled by the light of truth. To declare *that* to be a noxious weed which has hitherto been esteemed a beautiful flower, springing from a root containing healing virtues, arouses the prejudices of men, who immediately prepare to defend its excellence. But if, on the contrary, you present them with a flower obviously more beautiful and salutary, they will examine for themselves, and discard their former favourite: for it is flattering to the mind to disabuse itself of its own errors. Those who found out the truths of astronomy and chemistry, did not employ themselves in exposing the fallacies of the astrologers and alchemists, but simply proclaimed their discoveries; and in like manner would those proceed, who advocated in a right spirit the science of society. They would display a conciliatory disposition and an elevation of mind, more influential than eloquence itself. For whatever ridicule* or neglect they met with

* “The man, who, resolutely divesting himself of habit and prejudice, of the false impressions imbibed in early childhood, resolves to know Truth, if haply she may be found, is sure to be assailed, threatened, mimicked, and insulted, with abuse the most pitiful and inane, with derision the most paltry, stupid and futile, wholly unworthy of the exaltation to which human attainment boasts to have arrived. ‘His honesty is decried as presumption, his avowal of naked truth as sedition, his exposure of existing abuse as demoralization.’ It is diligently whispered to timidity, ignorance, and bigotry, ‘Take

in the world, they would always be sure in the bosom of their little society of finding friendly consolation, and they would thence derive fresh courage and fortitude to sustain their conflicts with those who mistook and misrepresented their motives. "Tell me," said Bernado, the father of Tasso, to his son, "of what use is that vain philosophy upon which you value yourself so much?" "It has enabled me," said Tasso modestly, "to endure the harshness of your reproofs." And such would be one of the most important uses of this application of a correct knowledge of the philosophy of society. It would enable each to endure with undiminished cheerfulness the harshness of the world's reproofs. In the mean time they would look around for the individual manifesting the greatest proximity to them in opinion and conduct; with him they would often associate, and in due time succeed in uniting him to their body. As they increased in number, they would increase also in moral power, and thereby enlarge their sphere of beneficence. "But there is one way," says the most powerful writer of the age, "of attaining what we may term, if not utter, at least mortal happiness; it is this,—a sincere and unrelaxing

heed, beware of that man, he fears neither God nor devil; or some such sweeping clause of excommunication."—*Citizen of Nature*.

activity for the happiness of others. In that one maxim is concentrated whatever is noble in morality, sublime in religion, or unanswerable in truth. In that pursuit we have all scope for whatever is excellent in our hearts, and none for the petty passions which our nature is heir to. There—whatever be our errors, there will be nobility, not weakness in our remorse; whatever our failure, virtue, not selfishness in our regret; and in success, vanity itself will become holy, and triumph eternal*.”

Now these would be more certainly advancing their happiness than those few bands who, dissatisfied with the institutions of their own country, have occasionally emigrated to distant lands, where they must have found a less extended field of usefulness, and who have rarely perpetuated among their descendants the good principles that prompted their departure.

On the other hand, the union we are contemplating would contain within it a principle of growth which it would be the constant and sedulous care of all to cherish. In time, a fifth and sixth member would be added, until the number as well as their general influence became considerable. Their meetings would then assume a more important character, and one meeting

* Lytton Bulwer.

during the week or month would perhaps be open to the public. They would go on from day to day increasing in affection for each other, and enjoying the purest friendship. The sobriety, order, good feeling, and high intelligence of the parties would give them great power*. If the mind is invigorated by exercise, so likewise the feelings; and a right method once begun, no limit can be assigned to the accession of strength which a desire to improve would gain, or to the higher dignity of conduct to which such a society would rise; nothing within the reach of human attainment would be too great for them to achieve through the silent but irresistible influence they would obtain over the public mind. Let those who think there is anything chimerical in this conclusion, observe in the example of the Society of Friends, although restricted by some partial

* "But sobriety goes further. It comprehends the government not of the bodily appetites only, but of the passions and affections of the mind. The use of these is to stir up the soul, and put it upon action; to awaken the understanding, to excite the will, and to make the whole man vigorous and attentive in the prosecution of his designs. He whose designs are right, and who, being master of his passions, can direct their force that way, proceeds like the mariner who understands his compass, and commands the winds; he raises or sinks his affections according to his judgement, and carefully adjusts them to the nature of things; he applies them with all their energy to the prosecution of his interest, and makes them militate, with all their force, against whatever might obstruct it."—*Horne's Sermon on Civil Society.*

and exclusive views, how much improvement results from their assembling themselves together, and by striving to cultivate the better affections. How much more would those gain who had no prejudices to struggle with, no dogmas lying as stumbling-blocks in their way, and who offered the right-hand of fellowship to all mankind! To firmness of principle they would unite an unaffected deference to those in authority; a conciliatory manner to those from whom they differed in opinion; and not only forgiveness of injuries, but a disposition to overcome evil with good. For, as Archbishop Tillotson says, “a more glorious victory cannot be gained over another man than this,—that when the injury began on his part, the kindness should begin on ours.” If there are any who, above all others, should exhibit in their demeanour that enduring charity which beareth all things, they are surely those who recognise in the acts of every individual the influence of the circumstances under which he has been trained, and by which he is surrounded.

Thus would their conduct harmonize with their professions,—unlike many of those who avow similar opinions, and yet condemn even with severity. There is nothing more calculated to bring discredit upon any system, much more upon one which regards society alone as responsible for the misconduct of its members, than the exhibition

of feelings of antipathy by its advocates towards any individual, or towards any class. After witnessing the meekness, the anxiety to arouse his hearers to a sense of duty, and the pious deportment of a clergyman in his parish church, there is something peculiarly revolting in hearing such characters rudely denounced by one whose vituperation and sarcasm create a reasonable doubt of his own professions of sincerity, and render the contrast between the calumniator and the calumniated greatly disadvantageous to the former.

If it be incumbent upon us to regard with indulgence errors imbibed in childhood, and professed by society at large,—how much greater consideration is due to those who have not only been subjected to the same general bias, but to other influences of similar but more powerful tendency,—upon whom it has been imposed as a sacred duty, from the period of their attaining manhood, to uphold the ordinances of the Established Church, and whose lives have been spent in conscientious endeavours to strengthen their own faith, and to impart confidence to others !

The enlightened benevolence in the following remarks demands the earnest consideration of all violent Reformers, and more especially of those who would assail with contumely and reproach the ministers of religion.

“How deeply rooted in the human frame,” says Dugald Stewart, “are those important principles which interest the good man in the prosperity of the world; and more especially in the prosperity of that beloved community to which he belongs! How small, at the same time, is the number of individuals who, accustomed to contemplate one modification alone of the social order, are able to distinguish the circumstances which are essential to human happiness from those which are indifferent or hurtful! In such a situation, how natural is it for a man of benevolence to acquire an indiscriminate and superstitious veneration for all the institutions under which he has been educated; as these institutions, however capricious and absurd in themselves, are not only familiarized by habit to all his thoughts and feelings, but are consecrated in his mind by an indissoluble association with duties which nature recommends to his affections, and which reason commands him to fulfil. It is on this account that a superstitious zeal against innovation, both in religion and politics, where it is evidently grafted on piety to God and good-will to mankind, however it may excite the sorrow of the more enlightened philosopher, is justly entitled, not only to his indulgence, but to his esteem and affection.”

To return to our interesting moral communion.

—They would not only be all things to all men, but they would be the same thing to all men; they would not only endeavour to win the good opinion and sympathy of each, by falling in with his pursuit so far as consistency and rectitude of principle would permit, but they would be kind and courteous, and always ready to impart their knowledge to every individual, of whatever sect and denomination, or of whatever character. Wherever they went their approach would be hailed with rejoicing. Far from opposing the errors of others, they would satisfy themselves with recommending their truths by persuasive and irresistible argument; but they would never forfeit esteem by unseasonable obtrusiveness: they would be mindful of the advice of Dr. Watts, who says, “Of all these different methods of curing prejudices, none can be practised with greater pleasure to a wise and good man, or with greater success, where success is most desirable, than attempting to turn the attention of well-meaning people from some point in which prejudice prevails, to some other of greater importance, and fixing their thoughts and heart on some great truth which they allow, and which leads into consequences contrary to some other notion which they espouse and retain. By this means they may be led to forget their errors while attentive to opposite truth; and in proportion to

the degree in which their minds open, and their tempers grow more generous and virtuous, may be induced to resign it. And surely nothing can give a benevolent mind more satisfaction, than to improve his neighbour in knowledge and in goodness at the same time."

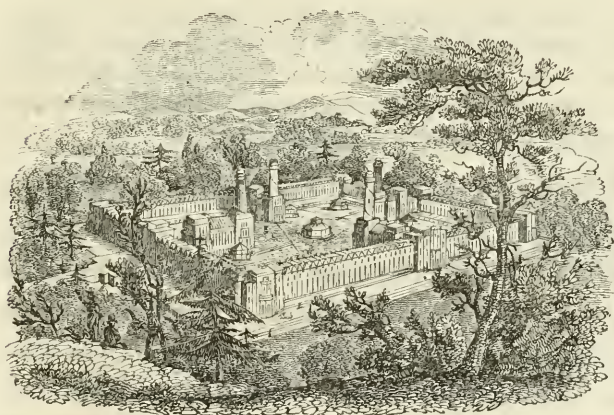
It is a just observation of Lord Bacon's, that "there is in man's nature a secret inclination and motion towards love of others, which if it be not spent upon some one or a few, doth naturally spread itself towards many." This natural germ, if we may so term it, is planted in *every* individual, and requires only a genial atmosphere for its development. Such an atmosphere would these societies create, subduing every harsher feeling wherever they extended. The universal principle of love has been recognised and appealed to in all the systems of philosophy and religion that have maintained any lengthened existence; it is a sympathy for his species which man possesses in common with all the animal creation, but which under the guidance of reason becomes a spring of perpetual and refined enjoyment;—it is that which responds to the relation of sufferings in our fellow-creatures,—which sometimes, suddenly aroused by the affecting eloquence of religious enthusiasm, is considered as a divine illumination; and when rightly directed, it may be indeed regarded as the in-

fluence of a holy spirit: it is the mystics of the Germans, and what Buffon denominated the sixth sense. "Whatever interest," says that eloquent writer, "we may have to know ourselves, I doubt if we do not know much better those things which make no part of us. Provided by nature with organs solely adapted to our preservation, we employ them merely to receive foreign impressions: all our care is to exist without ourselves. Too much taken up in multiplying the functions of our senses, and increasing the exterior extent of our being, we seldom make use of that interior sense which reduces us to our true dimensions. This is the only sense by which we can judge ourselves. But the difficulty is to give this sense its activity and proper extent; to free our soul, in which it resides, from every illusion of the understanding. We have lost the habit of employing it; it has remained in a state of inaction in the midst of the tumult bred by our corporeal sensations." So impossible is it to find a human being without sympathy, that the privation was supposed by the Romish Church to be endured only by Satan. "He who is without affection," says Brown in his Lectures on Moral Philosophy, "may exist, indeed, in a populous city, with crowds around him wherever he may chance to turn: but even there he lives in a desert, or he lives only among

statues, that move and speak, but are incapable of saying anything to his heart. How pathetically, and almost how sublimely, does one of the female Saints of the Romish Church express the importance of affection to happiness, when, in speaking of the great enemy of mankind, whose situation might seem to present so many other conceptions of misery, she singles out this one circumstance, and says, "How sad is the state of that being condemned to love nothing!" We may be assured, then, that no human being is destitute of sympathy; and that it only requires to be appealed to with an adequate feeling, to be called into the most beneficial activity.

Thousands and tens of thousands have been spent in the vain endeavour to construct communities with the materials of old society: the conviction of the understanding was deemed a sufficient security for improvement of character; but it was soon discovered that though the mind was informed, the feelings were undisciplined; that pretended converts gained admission; and that many who could discourse wisely were still found wanting. Henceforward the first practical step to be taken must be in the path of moral improvement; this should be the beginning and the end of the pursuit; then perchance holier desires will be cherished and gratified, and more lasting happiness secured.

A brief sketch has been attempted of the embryo of a society which, consisting of two or three members only, would soon augment its power and its numbers, and in the mean time exhibit an epitome of a more comprehensive moral and intellectual combination. Let these incipient unions be formed in every village,—in every neighbourhood:—as the knowledge of the principle spreads, they will arise in different districts of the globe; they will gradually enlarge the circumference of their circles, until coming in contact with each other, they will be finally resolved into one unbounded sphere of universal harmony.



CHAPTER V.

“Slander not man ! he is a wondrous creature;
 To each extreme of ill or good inclin’d,
 As the first bias sways his ductile powers,
 And after-circumstance confirms the same.
 Say ! is he selfish, heartless ? Bless the care,
 The tricks, contrivances with which false art
 And learned ignorance have clogg’d the mind,
 And trammell’d all his actions ! Give him way;
 Crush not, but guide the noble nature in him;
 Raise him an equal among equals.”

Economy of Human Life.

“Truth and Love are two of the most powerful things in the world ; and when they go together they cannot easily be withstood. The golden beams of Truth, and the silken cords of Love, twisted together, will draw men with a sweet violence whether they will or no.”—CUDWORTH.

UPON the return of Lord Hampden from the Continent, he resumed his seat in the House of Lords towards the close of the session in which the Reform Bill was passed. About a year previous Mr. Brougham had been raised to the office of Lord High Chancellor of England : this advancement afforded Lord Hampden frequent opportunities of conversing with him on the subject of education, which occupied so much the attention of both. For the purpose of entering

more fully upon the examination of some of the views of Lord Hampden, the Chancellor invited him one morning to an early déjeuner. He arrived by mistake a quarter of an hour before the appointed hour; but Lord Brougham was ready to receive him, and the following dialogue immediately succeeded the customary salutations.

Lord Hampden.—I am much gratified by the honour of this interview with your lordship, as it appears to me that a complete education can now be adopted, and is the only means by which an effectual reformation of all the abuses of society can be brought about*.

Lord Chancellor.—Much has already been done to extend the benefits of education, and to disseminate useful knowledge, and wider fields may still be cultivated.

Lord Hampden.—I am solicitous to see the present systems improved before further attempts are made at extension. If the amount of good feeling in society is a just criterion of success, I fear that we have little to boast of in all that has hitherto been done for any class.

* "There are several ways of reforming men:—by the laws of the civil magistrate, and by the preaching of ministers; but the most likely and hopeful reformation of the world must begin with children. Wholesome laws and good sermons are but slow ways. The most compendious way is a good education; this may be an effectual prevention of evil, whereas all after ways are but remedies."—TILLOTSON.

Lord Chancellor.—More attention is now devoted to the sciences, especially in the London University, and a more liberal principle of admission has been established than exists at Oxford or Cambridge*.

Lord Hampden.—Its founder is so far entitled to the gratitude of the country: but he has still higher claims, inasmuch as he has drawn the

* “On such a topic as this of education, the injustice done to our Catholic ancestors cannot pass unnoticed. While their noble monuments at Cambridge and Oxford exist, a comparison may be drawn between the genius of Catholicism and Protestantism,—not, assuredly, much to the credit of the latter. In three hundred years the latter has added three colleges only to the structures which it seized; and to the colleges at Oxford not only is all access denied to those who persist in the faith of their forefathers, but to those who have adopted Protestantism in any form different from that which is favoured by Government. Thus above two thirds of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, and all foreigners, are excluded from the benefits which these institutions are intended to confer. This proceeding has a precedent, indeed, in the reign of Julian the Apostate; but a House of Commons in the reign of Charles the First had more enlarged views; for upon their Minutes it is declared, ‘That the statutes made about twenty-seven years since, in the University of Cambridge, imposing upon young scholars a Subscription, according to the thirty-sixth Article of the Canons, made in the year 1603, is against the law and liberty of the subject, and ought not to be pressed upon any student or graduate whatsoever.’ The Reformed House of Commons will probably inquire, in no great length of time, upon what grounds, and by whose authority, the Subscription, that had been dropped in consequence of this Resolution for several years, was revived.”—*A Plan of Universal Education, by William Frend, Esq.*

attention of the first commercial metropolis of the world to the importance of education. The knowledge of Nature is real knowledge, and one year devoted to that study will be of greater advantage than four bestowed upon the Classics: for who are less capable of showing us any good in times of difficulty than classical scholars? who more deficient in useful information*? To say nothing of the multitudes from the schools and colleges, who after wasting seven or eight years in studying the dead languages, are not able to translate a single page correctly,—what are the pursuits of those who have drunk deep at the sacred fountains? superadding to the advantages of the Greeks all the discoveries of the intervening period,—do they manifest any of the wisdom of the

* A periodical in the year 1825 makes the following facetious remark on the defective education of the higher classes: “The peer despises the chemist, who teaches him whence comes the colour of his blue garter; the metallurgist, who shows him how to convert his barren hills to gold. A whole army of noble and ignoble legislators meet annually to legislate, and it legislates on the sciences and the arts; yet scarcely one ray of science or art pervades the darkness of either House. Let those who doubt it consult the debates, the reports, the journals. Five Parliaments have attempted to determine the best form for the felly of a wheel; and five Parliaments have not agreed whether a pound weight exerts an equal pressure on one and on two square inches of surface. But they have learnt to make Latin verses, and the law peers can probably parse *Re, fa, lo*, when the deficient syllables are supplied.”—*Westminster Review*.

sages of antiquity? are they animated with a vehement desire to serve their country? are they foremost in the rank of those who are advancing mankind in knowledge? are they pressing forward in generous sacrifices, or even with the justice of an Aristides? If these questions could be answered satisfactorily, the dead languages would indeed claim the first consideration. But what is the pursuit of the erudite scholar? He is busily occupied in antiquarian researches, collecting coins, settling dates, or whiling away his time in profitless philological speculations*.

Lord Chancellor.—Are you for neglecting the Classics altogether?

Lord Hampden.—By no means, my Lord; but, after having exercised the greatest discretion in selecting the works to be studied, I would give them a very subordinate place in every system of education.

Lord Chancellor.—Some of the ancient authors are certainly not adapted to the innocence of youth.

* “This was of old,” says Seneca, “the epidemical disease for men to crack their brains to discover how many oars Ulysses’ galley carried;—whether it were first written Ilias or Odyssea. And a profound student amongst the learned Romans would recount to you who was the first victor at sea; when elephants came into use at triumphs;—and wonderful is the concern about Caudex, for the derivation of Codices, Caudicarius, &c., Gellius, or Agellius, Vergilius, or Virgilius; with the like trifles that make men idly busie indeed, not better.”—EVELYN.

Lord Hampden.—So thought Plato, even in reference to those works the most esteemed by us*. How the clergy can sanction a course of education calculated to generate a spirit so hostile to the genius of their own religion, I am at a loss to discover.

Lord Chancellor.—It is considered necessary that the expounder of the Gospel should be acquainted with it in the original text.

Lord Hampden.—But this does not apply to the manner in which the Classics are taught, or to an indiscriminate reading; for without great care and continual watchfulness it is impossible to prevent a youth captivated with his studies, from ranging freely over the fields of ancient literature: far from this being attended to, even the works appointed to be read tend to engender licentious ideas, and sometimes to fill the mind with false notions of military glory†. It would

* “ Their education shall commence from their earliest years, and the impressions which they shall then receive will not be contrary to those which they must afterwards experience. Care shall especially be taken not to amuse them with the idle fictions contained in the writings of Homer, Hesiod, and other poets.”—*Plat. de Rep.*

† “ We have paid too much deference to the Greeks and Romans: we have servilely followed a narrow and exclusive method, which refers everything to the system of an insignificant people of Asia unknown in antiquity, or to the system of Herodotus, the circumscribed limits of which exhibit only Egypt, Greece, and Italy, as if that small space contained the

be better that selections only should be studied, and even those ought not to engage the earliest attention of youth.

Lord Chancellor.—But is not an early age the best adapted for their acquisition?

Lord Hampden.—The age of twelve is quite soon enough to commence them; for by that time the pupil begins to appreciate their value,—not very highly perhaps if his knowledge is extensive, but aided by the improved facilities for learning languages he is soon able to master them. Natural philosophy should engage the earliest years, for curiosity in childhood requires only to be watched and satisfied with judgement to be kept alive, and to yield continually increasing delight; whatever is essential to a high intellectual and moral character, nature has provided pleasurable means of acquiring, although for ages she may have hidden those means for the inventive genius of man to discover.

Lord Chancellor.—It has not yet been discovered at our great schools*; as nineteen out of twenty scholars detest their fagging, are heartily glad to escape, and soon forget what they have learnt†.

universe, or as if the history of those nations were anything more than a small and solitary branch of the history of mankind."—*Volney's Lectures on History.*

* See Appendix E.

† Making allowance for the exaggeration of an electioneering address, I fear there was too much truth in the following

Lord Hampden.—In lieu of their systems of coercion, I have to propose one which shall yield gratification to the pupil from the commencement of his career to its termination.

Lord Chancellor.—I should be glad to see such a system adopted at the London University.

Lord Hampden.—That noble Institution is so much in accordance with the liberal spirit of the age, that it deserves the generous support of every friend to intellectual and moral improvement. It might still exhibit the most perfect model of scholastic education ever yet seen, by a very simple process; and become the means, at no distant period, of rectifying all the errors of society; for whoever understands the right government of a school is acquainted with the

remarks on the House of Commons before the Reform Bill was passed. “One half of our Members of Parliament have hitherto consisted of great or rich men’s sons, nephews, cousins, and dependents, all on the look-out for sinecures;—and no wonder, when we consider how they have been chiefly trained. Their education generally commences at Eton, or some other public school in England, where, as fags to the older boys, they are compelled to beg money, and to steal hens and ducks for their masters’ suppers, and to do every sort of menial and degrading office for the bigger boys. In time they become tyrants themselves in their turn, and impose the same slavery on those under them. From Eton they go to Oxford, where they learn the additional accomplishments of drinking, gambling, boxing, and fox-hunting; and often without acquiring one useful or rational idea.”

principles upon which the happiness of empires could be achieved.

Lord Chancellor.—Pray name the process.

Lord Hampden.—By adopting—be not surprised, my Lord—the principle of an infant school; by appealing to the affections of the pupils primarily, or at least simultaneously with their intellectual culture. That your Professors will take the lead in the introduction of this, as of all other important improvements, I infer from the abolition of corporal punishment in the school, which I rejoice to hear is rapidly increasing its numbers. The oral instruction adopted for the younger boys is also a great recommendation.

Lord Chancellor.—You have heard of the disagreements between the Professors and the Warden, the insubordination of the pupils rendering it necessary for one Professor to withdraw, and thereby inducing others to resign?

Lord Hampden.—The Professors were brought up like other teachers at public colleges, where the cultivation of the moral feelings is disregarded, and where coercion and strict discipline supply the place of attraction*; such individuals could not

* “Speusippus caused the pictures of Joy and Gladness to be set round about his school, to signify that the business of education ought to be rendered as pleasant as may be: and indeed children stand in need of all the enticements and en-

be expected to subject themselves to the caprice and disorderly conduct of boys, and hold their situations upon a tenure so precarious and humiliating as the approbation of their pupils.

Lord Chancellor.—How is it to be remedied, seeing it is necessary to obtain Professors of the highest reputation, who may not be willing to attend to any other part of education than that for which they are more particularly qualified?

Lord Hampden.—It is perhaps doubtful whether it be indispensable to seek the most profound scholars, for they are not always the best teachers; nay, they have sometimes proved the worst; for their habits are frequently too abstracted to win attention, and they are less able to appreciate the difficulties of the student than those who are not so far in advance. But even supposing it necessary to have men of academical honours, there might still be appointed another class of men whose sole object should be to form the dispositions of the boys, and to inspire them with a love of learning; they should become their constant friends and companions; and in contradistinction to the teachers they would be the educa-

couragements to learning and goodness. ‘*Metus haud diuturni magister officii,*’ says Tully. Fear alone will not teach a man his duty, and hold him to it for any long time; for when that is removed, nature will break loose and do like itself.”—TILLOTSON.

tors*; their duty should be to study the character of each, to direct his moral feelings, and aid the development of all his faculties; he should himself form one of the class when receiving a lesson; and the influence of his example would secure for the teacher, and all connected with the establishment, the greatest attention and respect. These individuals should be selected from those who have naturally an ample share of kind feeling; sufficient knowledge they would soon acquire to further their object; a trifling salary would suffice them, as their greatest recompense would be found in the participation of the happiness they were imparting. If they were not more than from seventeen to twenty years of age, provided their judgement were matured, it

* "The tendency to imitation so universal in children, is not simply an effect of the love of the pleasures of sympathy, but of the pleasures of activity combined with those of sympathy. So strong is this principle, even in adults, that very few persons thrown into a new society, though much differing from their previous habits, can resist the good or the bad influence of example, can refuse to imitate what every one around them practises. Great energy of mind, invincible habit, or strong cultivation of reason, are necessary in adults to resist the whirlpool of example. What then can children,—whose habits are to be formed, whose reason is to be cultivated, whose plastic natures only pant for action, almost indifferent to the direction or future consequences of activity, provided its immediate mode of development be pleasurable,—what can children do to oppose the all-surrounding currents of example? how can they refuse to imitate what they see done by all around

would be preferable, as they would possess more animation*.

them, whether gentle or ferocious, whether reasonable or absurd? Activity of some sort is indispensable to their physical temperament. A mode of exercising that activity is displayed before them, the difficulty of finding out this mode is removed, the pleasures of activity are afforded, and they are rewarded for joining in the common pursuits, not only by the pleasures of activity, but by the approving sympathy of their companions, and the superior and controuling sympathy of their tutors. When all these modes of influence are conjoined, their operation over the minds and conduct of children is irresistible. The teacher, however, besides his sympathy with the useful and pleasurable development of the children's active faculties, should feel a pleasure in what he teaches, and in the progress of teaching, or he will lose half the effect of the power of sympathy."—THOMPSON.

* "Plato having reproved a boy for playing with nuts, the child said, 'You blame me for a trifle.' Plato replied, 'Custom is not such a trifle.' I observe that our greatest vices are derived from the impression made on us in our most tender years, and that we are principally governed by our nurses. Some mothers are delighted in seeing a child divert itself in hurting a puppy or a kitten; and there are such silly fathers in the world, as think it a happy presage of a warlike spirit when they see their sons fall foul of an innocent peasant or a lacquey, that dares not hold up his hand in their defence. And they think it shows a genius in a lad when they see him outwitting his play-fellow by some unlucky trick or knavery. Yet these are the true seeds and roots of cruelty, tyranny, and treachery. In these years they bud, and afterwards sprout up vigorously and thrive amain in the hands of custom: and it is a very dangerous error to excuse these vile inclinations by the tenderness of years and the levity of the subject. In the first place, it is Nature that speaks, the voice of which is then more pure and genuine, as it is younger and shriller. Secondly, the deformity of cozenage does not depend on the difference be-

Lord Chancellor.—There is one serious impediment to your scheme, my Lord,—the counter-acting influences at those periods when the boys are at home, or at lodgings. If at home, they witness perhaps scenes of dissipation, listen to conversations on fashions, routes, horse-racing, card-playing, &c. or on the rivalry, competitions, selfishness, and quarrels of society*: if at lodgings, they are without any restraint whatever.

tween crown-pieces and pins, but merely upon itself; and I should think it more just to reason thus: ‘Why would he not cheat for a crown, since he does so for a pin?’ than to argue as they do who say, ‘He only plays for pins: he would not cheat if it were for money.’ Children should be carefully taught to abhor the vices of their own contriving; and the natural deformity of them ought to be so represented, that they may not only avoid them in their actions, but hate them from their hearts; that the very thought of them may be odious to them, what mask soever they wear. The plays of children are not in jest, but must be judged of as their most serious actions.”

—MONTAIGNE.

* “Thus it is that the anxious years of parental care, and the reiterated appeals of religion, are so nugatory in their effect, since they are in direct variance with the principles and practice of society. A creature goes forth into the world informed that he must speak truth, love and serve his fellow-creatures, and regulate his actions by the principles of justice and charity: the young theorist may have every desire to put into practice the dogmas in which he has been reared, but he soon discovers he is in a theatre where the language of truth is unknown, that his fellow-creatures, so far from loving and serving each other, are engaged in a continual struggle to injure and outwit each other; that justice consists in acting according to laws often directly opposed to it, and charity centres in a selfish regard to individual interests. How long can it be expected such a

Lord Hampden.—I have not overlooked the difficulty, and I should propose that arrangements be made to board and lodge a considerable number, who should be educated separately from the rest; the superiority these boarders would display would induce the parents of the day pupils to desire the same advantages for their own children; but no new pupil should be admitted among the boarders until he had been under the inseparable controul of an educator, apart from the rest, for a month.

Lord Chancellor.—But at the age at which boys are received they have already contracted bad habits, and some unfavourable bias may have been given to the mind.

Lord Hampden.—It would of course be more desirable to have them earlier; but if we cannot accomplish all we could desire, let us do as much as we can;—*Exempta juvat spinis e pluribus una.*

Lord Chancellor.—If children could be obtained at the age of two years, and an Infant School formed, in which they remained until they were six or seven, to be then advanced to a higher school, it would give great facility to your plan.

Lord Hampden.—That would render it complete; and in fact no Infant School can be well

being will retain the impression with which he came forth? and who shall be hardy enough entirely to blame his departure from them?"—MRS. GRIMSTONE.

conducted or quite successful, until the children are entirely under the superintendence of educators, unless the parents themselves understand well the principle acted upon, and pursue it at home. I hope you will follow up this excellent idea of an Infant School at the University, and be careful that even all the servants exhibit no counteracting feelings. In this way you will surround the children with a moral atmosphere*.

Lord Chancellor.—After all, this moral feeling

* “Wherefore, the *same Reason* which directs us to direct our organs of respiration, (which, in some measure may be obstructed or excited at the command of our will,) and the other voluntary motions of our body, that we may always, as far as in us lies, enjoy the use of wholesome air, will *also* teach us to regulate all our inward affections and outward actions, that regard other men, with that *Humanity*, that to the utmost of our power we may cause them all to entertain and refresh us with *their Benevolence*, so necessary to our happiness.

“We are cautious not to fill the air of our houses with noxious steams and vapours, but especially that this perpetual nourishment, both of our own lives and that of others, may not be corrupted with pestilential and other contagious effluvia; which is a faint resemblance of *Innocence*, and teaches the necessity thereof in all our actions.

“The air which we have drawn into our lungs we immediately breathe back again; or, if a small portion thereof be retained for some little time, for the refreshing of *our* blood and vital spirits, it is afterwards, along with the blood itself and vital spirits, as it were with interest restored by insensible perspiration to the *common* mass of air; this reciprocal natural motion, which is intermixt with somewhat voluntary, thus resembles *Gratitude*, and points out its necessity for the *good* of the *whole*.”

—MAXWELL'S *Laws of Nature*.

must be the result of an enlargement of mind, which the spread of the sciences is promoting.

Lord Hampden.—I am aware, my Lord, that such was the opinion expressed in your Inaugural Address at the University of Glasgow, when you made use of the words “To diffuse useful information, to further intellectual refinement, —sure forerunner of moral improvement.”

Lord Chancellor.—And can you doubt the fact?

Lord Hampden.—Certainly not, my Lord; but I believe that moral improvement may be accelerated more by a *direct* appeal to the feelings before instruction is imparted;—the smile that awakens sympathy and attention is a moral influence, opening an avenue for knowledge.

Lord Chancellor.—This difference seems to me unimportant.

Lord Hampden.—Indeed, my Lord, it is of the highest importance to the interests of humanity. There appear to be two parties contending for the moral improvement of the people;—the first may be called the sectarian educators, who assert that no morals can be stable but such as are based upon religious doctrines; but as one sect only can be right, all the rest must of course advocate some error.

The second are the philosophical educators, who maintain that the morals of a people to be pure and lasting must be founded on a knowledge

of nature generally, but more particularly of the laws of human nature.

The sectarian educators, as I have observed, are many of them necessarily wrong, but all obtain currency for their opinions by appealing to the affections of their hearers;—the philosophical educators neglect addressing themselves to the feelings, and are consequently esteemed cold, and labour in vain to excite attention, although they may have incontestable truths on their side.

Lord Chancellor.—But do you not perceive that the former appeal to the prejudices of their hearers, while the latter are opposed to them?

Lord Hampden.—Even when a new sect arises, numbers accumulate rapidly from the animated warmth of the preacher.

Lord Chancellor.—But you would not have science dealt out with the ravings of a fanatic?

Lord Hampden.—No, my Lord; but I would have the science of human nature enforced with the earnestness which a consciousness of the extreme importance of the subject is calculated to inspire in those who, deeply impressed with a sense of the moral degradation of mankind, are impelled by an ardent desire to subdue selfishness, and to elevate the better feelings; who recognise in sympathy and love the surest guides to happiness, and if not the “forerunners,”

at least the handmaids of intellectual refinement*.”

* “Amid all the irrationalities that experience looks back to regret,—and, let us hope, forward to remedy,—is the neglect of children. They have been treated as little better than weeds; they are, in fact, the fairest flowers of the creation.

“It is the cogent remark of a lecturer, now, or lately before the public, that ‘of the present children must be formed our future men.’ Had this idea, in all its important bearings, been present to the minds of our forefathers, we might now have *stood* upon the elevation to which enthusiasm only looks.

“For the first few years of existence, children are held as beings of no consequence; no sufficient regard is paid to what they see, what they hear, what impressions they imbibe, or how they imbibe them, and none whatever to their feelings. I cannot write this without a pang. The cold and indifferent adult that wounds one of these young hearts by neglect, repulse, reproof, by laughing at its mistakes, or checking, without satisfying its inquiries, can only commit such enormities from not knowing what it is he does.

“The feelings and participations of children are, like the early verdure of the spring, vivid and delicate; they require the warm and gentle rays of encouraging and considerate tenderness to bring them to perfect maturity.

“Blighted, nipped, half-withered, or unnaturally forced, in the great majority of cases, man struggles into his moral existence; subsequent circumstances amend and modify, or aggravate and confirm the distortions of his abused infancy; but is it not astonishing that none, or at least so very few, reasoning from their own actual experience, exert in behalf of the rising generation around them, the knowledge drawn from the facts and the convictions of the past?

“Who does not remember the pain and moral deterioration he suffered, when he was stung, in childhood, by petulance and unkindness, hurt and disappointed by neglect, put to shame by heedless ridicule, or ill-judged and severe reproof? How can we all look back upon this, and yet not turn and give a

Lord Chancellor.—Can intellectual refinement exist without moral improvement? or the latter without the former?

Lord Hampden.—Properly speaking, they are synonymous; but the principle for which I contend,—namely, a direct appeal to the heart, to speak in popular language,—an expression of kindness in looks, words, or actions,—has always in practice proved more persuasive than precept: it was this course of proceeding which rendered the Jesuits in Paraguay, and the Moravian Missionaries most successful in making converts;—which enabled Mrs. Fry to overcome the daring ferocity of the female prisoners,—which enabled Pestalozzi, notwithstanding the turmoil and confusion of his disorganized plans, to acquire great renown, and to send forth disciples competent to perpetuate beneficence, and en-

hand, and a smile to every little wayfarer we meet or overtake in our journey, and try to lead them by a better road than we were led ourselves? It must be that in the hurry of life we brush by them without looking at them, for there is not one of them that does not carry its appeal written on its brow,—an appeal that none but a stoic can gaze on and resist.

“Pestalozzi came like a Messiah among children. In their behalf he possessed but one mighty engine with which to meet the most gigantic difficulties: with that he conquered; it was the unwearying love of his divine heart. One day in the year at least should be held sacred to him, on which children should be made to venerate his name, and their parents and instructors reminded to imitate his example.”—MRS. GRIMSTONE.

lighten the world by his wisdom. The disadvantage of an inattention to the moral feelings was manifested in the angry discussions that took place among the proprietors of the London University, and which, considering it was a seminary for the education of youth, was unseemly, and afforded a sad example: indeed all the difficulties of the institution may perhaps be traced to this cause.

Lord Chancellor.—You will excuse me in reminding you, Lord Hampden, that others are apt to lose their philosophy in the heat of debate.

Lord Hampden.—I understand you, my Lord, and plead guilty to the implied charge of unguarded impetuosity; but because I am sensible of my own imperfections, it may still be allowed me to urge a general amendment, in which I hope to participate. This amendment would be greatly advanced if correct ideas prevailed regarding the convictions and feelings, for neither of which is the individual accountable. The former you insisted upon in a forcible manner in the memorable address to which I just now alluded, when you declared, that man should no longer be accountable to others for his belief, over which he had no controul. What you then said of opinions applies equally to feelings, and man is no more a proper subject for praise or blame in the one case than in the other.

Lord Chancellor.—Of this I am not so thoroughly convinced.

Lord Hampden.—I am aware you are not, my Lord, or you would not lend your support to a system of government founded upon an opposite principle.

Lord Chancellor.—Can you suppose it possible to do away with punishment altogether?

Lord Hampden.—Healthful and productive employment for the people, together with the general adoption of an improved system of education, and the aid of parochial Mechanics' Institutions and lectures, would enable you to raze your prisons to the ground in a few years, and abolish your courts of justice.

Lord Chancellor.—What would then become of the Professorship of Jurisprudence proposed to be endowed at the London University?

Lord Hampden.—The money would be applied to a more useful purpose in establishing a Professorship of Moral Philosophy, which would include all which the last Report of the Council denominates "various and intricate sciences," and which are intricate to those only who build up systems upon fundamental errors. Certainly when they speak of "the science of government,—of the principles on which laws should be made and administered,—of the rules which govern the creation and distribution of wealth," as separate

and distinct sciences, no wonder they involve themselves in perplexity. Why are the rules that have hitherto governed the creation and distribution of wealth deemed scientific, when it is obvious to the meanest capacity that those rules are the cause of almost all the evils of society, and have been condemned by some of the greatest men both in ancient and modern times?—as if the insatiable cravings, the factitious wants, and the frivolous pursuits of ignorance, were never to be superseded by the rational desires of more enlightened generations.

Lord Chancellor.—Are not the same principles of political economy taught by the Professors at Oxford and Cambridge?

Lord Hampden.—Perhaps errors still more gross*; but it is in vain to oppose them, for nothing will be read at those Universities but what is congenial with the existing system.

Lord Chancellor.—Unless you are strictly orthodox there, you are not likely to be heard.

Lord Hampden.—Take care, my Lord, that in throwing wide your doors to every religious sect, you adopt not exclusiveness in favour of particular opinions upon other subjects. You have a powerful band of political economists; and I much question if they will examine patiently arguments opposed to their own notions.

* See Appendix F.

Lord Chancellor.—What reason have you for that conclusion?

Lord Hampden.—Some of them are connected with the periodical publications; and they have not ventured to review Thompson's "Inquiry into the Distribution of Wealth," in which their own assumptions are successfully refuted. I hope your Lordship will promote an impartial exercise of authority, and not withhold your powerful aid in completing a work so beneficial for society. If a Professorship of Moral Philosophy could be endowed, and principles of universal benevolence boldly taught, there would be so powerful a demonstration of public opinion in your favour, that the privileges of the two ancient Universities would be speedily merged in the general welfare.

Lord Chancellor.—You, who are sanguine in your expectations, and have not taken an active part in political affairs, can know but little of the difficulties which I have to encounter; but I have in contemplation an extensive plan of education.

Lord Hampden.—In the mean time there is a measure by which not only children but adults might be much benefited, and which I hope your Lordship will recommend. I mean the institution of a cheerful and instructive lecture on the means of happiness derived from a knowledge of the laws of our nature, and delivered in each parish church on a Saturday evening; every parishioner, of

whatever sect, Christian, Jew, or Mahometan, should be invited to attend: it might be accompanied with music and poetry in which the happiness resulting from the exercise of sympathy was set forth. Upon this occasion no religious doctrine should be introduced*. This would not contravene any opinion; but the lecturer, if he felt the subject, would have abundant materials for his composition, and would eloquently dwell upon the great advantages all would derive from a friendly union.

Why should the people never hear the road to happiness pointed out except by instructors attired in black gowns; necessarily associating their moral duties with gloom and despondency, dissolving their natural alliance with joy and gladness? And why should not clergymen themselves mingle in the amusements of all their parishioners? If they sit down to cards, or join in the sports of the field with the rich, would there be less reverence if they presided over the pastimes of the humbler classes, and contributed to their hilarity while preserving their sobriety and innocence? The advice given by Pliny is no less ap-

* "And how much more joyous an aspect would human society assume, how many unjust prejudices would be corrected, and how many obstacles to the progress of truth be removed, could men of different sentiments lay aside their animosities, and mingle freely in amicable intercourse!"—*Systematic Morality, by William Jevons, jun.*

plicable to the proper management of all instruction, whether in the pulpit, or in the school. "*Ut in vita, sic in studiis, pulcherrimum et humanissimum existimo severitatem comitatemque miscere, ne illa in tristitiam, hæc in petulantiam procedat.*"

Lord Chancellor.—Can you seriously think that the clergy would submit to this?

Lord Hampden.—The clergy will consent to whatever is really beneficial: and if an opinion may be formed from the conciliatory language of the speech of the Archbishop of Canterbury,—by far the most courteous and dignified in the debates on the Reform Bill,—there will be no reluctance to enter in a right spirit upon the consideration of any measure for the benefit of the people; especially of one that cannot interfere with their privileges and opinions, when the regulation of those meetings is left principally to themselves. In the day-time the churches should be used for a system of national education, open to the admission of children of every sect and party*.

Lord Chancellor.—After the violent opposition made to the introduction of a liberal plan of education into Ireland, by which the Catholics were to be permitted to instruct their children in the tenets of their own religion, how can we expect that your proposal will be acceded to?

Lord Hampden.—My plan does not favour, nor

* See Appendix G.

does it oppose, any system of belief ; but leaves religious tuition to the care of each family, and to the charge of each pastor. If this appropriation of the churches (excepting on the Sunday), by day and in the evening, was sincerely entered upon, a most extraordinary improvement in the whole population would be manifested in a single year. This is a reform simple and comprehensive, involving no expenditure, invading no interests or vested rights ; it would prove a cheap but effectual antidote to all the bad feeling too prevalent at present.

Lord Chancellor.—Are you not aware that the clergy are much opposed to education being carried beyond a certain limit, and that they consider that too much has been done already even in the National schools ?—They excuse themselves for having gone thus far by referring to the efforts of the Dissenters in establishing the Lancasterian schools, which compelled them to prevent the dissemination of non-conforming opinions.

Lord Hampden.—I have been out of England some time ; but a friend of mine, who has given much attention to the subject, informs me, that he has lately visited several Infant schools, which are now patronized only by the evangelical portion of the clergy ; but that in all, the original plan of teaching children to repeat those words only of

which they can understand the meaning is but little attended to. He entered one when the teacher had just put the edifying question, "How many kings did Joshua slay?" and other questions equally injurious, as well as some referring to doctrines unintelligible even to adults. The same friend pointed out a passage in the Bishop of London's speech, at a meeting of the Governors and Subscribers of the King's College, in which he said, that "holding as they did, peculiar tenets, those whose minds were not yet formed they should imbue with them; leaving them, however, to their free choice, when reason had arrived at maturity."

Lord Chancellor.—This must satisfy you of the wishes of the clergy regarding Infant schools, that "peculiar tenets" should be there imbibed; and as much general knowledge is incompatible with peculiar tenets, we cannot wonder at their restrictions.

Lord Hampden.—The principle here laid down by the Bishop would, if generally acted upon, go far to perpetuate the errors in all the various religions in the world; for if each parent is to consider himself justified in forcing prematurely upon the mind of his child whatever theological opinions he may have imbibed himself, it is probable that its reason may never arrive at maturity, nor ever be able to exercise a free choice. As well

may the Chinese parents, after having contracted the muscles and the size of their daughter's feet, and thereby crippled her for life, say, when she arrived at mature age, that she was free to walk. To allow the mental faculties to expand with freedom, no attempt should be made to gain assent to any proposition not clearly comprehended, nor should any speculative question be submitted to the decision of the individual, before his mind had been well stored with a knowledge of facts, and the reasoning powers duly exercised; a contrary course is a sure way of creating confusion in the mind, of confounding truth with error, and of preventing the habit of reflection and the power of just discrimination from being in after-life acquired*.

Lord Chancellor.—I perfectly coincide in all this; and on that account I have confined my attention to the diffusion of useful knowledge: but because I wished to unite all persuasions in the prosecution of this object, I have been represented as inimical to religion.

Lord Hampden.—Such calumnies will not, I am convinced, deter you from prosecuting your great designs. The country is calling out for the education of the people; it would indeed be irreligious to suffer a single individual gifted with the noble faculties of man, to be the mere water-

* Morgan's *Letter to the Bishop of London*.

carrier and beast of burden, when Science has provided a substitute for excessive labour. But whatever opinions the clergy may have expressed, they will, when approached with a deference due to their office, listen to the appeals of the public, and more especially as there are many in their own body whose sentiments accord with the general opinion in favour of education; besides which, there are no members of society who would be better qualified to moderate the feelings of all, if they can be prevailed upon to accommodate themselves to the spirit of the age; not certainly by any compromise of principle, but by superintending the diffusion of scientific knowledge, and the cultivation of the kindlier feelings among all, irrespective of party, or class, or creed.

Lord Chancellor.—You are far too sanguine. What public decision could have been more general than that in favour of Reform? and yet it was opposed by the Bishops.

Lord Hampden.—They opposed the Bill because they considered it as involving too great a change at one time; they were not opposed to a limited Reform. Since I have been in the House, and seen more of the personal characters of the Bishops, I am the more convinced of their sincerity; and while we see so many lay Lords who are conscientiously opposing every innovation, we may naturally conclude that the opposition

of those whose education and profession have been still more exclusive is equally sincere.

Lord Chancellor.—Suppose a motion were brought forward to introduce your system of education into Eton, Winchester, Westminster, and Harrow; nay, into all the public schools?

Lord Hampden.—Who would oppose it? A system that should ameliorate the disposition of the boys would be hailed by the masters as the greatest boon that could be bestowed; and the Aristocracy would rejoice in beholding their children saved from those evils which they consider inseparable from a public education.

Lord Chancellor.—But most of the Aristocracy consider a public education preferable, on account of the necessity it imposes upon the boys to contend with others, and fight their way through; thereby qualifying them more effectually to stand up for their own, upon entering society*.

Lord Hampden.—The courage of wolves and tigers, and leagued with selfishness,—as remote

* “The Chauci are a people, the noblest of the Germans, who choose to maintain their greatness by justice rather than violence. Without ambition; without ungoverned desires; quiet and retired, they excite no wars; they are guilty of no rapine or plunder; and it is a principal argument of their power and bravery, that the superiority they possess has not been acquired by injuries. Yet all have arms in readiness; and if necessary, an army is soon raised, for they abound in men and horses, and maintain their military reputation even in inaction.”—*Tacit. de Mor. Germ.* cap. 35.

from the courage of an elevated mind, as that of the robber differs from the fortitude of a Regulus, —no wonder that we are deficient in public spirit and in true nobility! Let this moral reform take place, and every year the public schools and colleges will send forth a numerous band ardent in the cause of human improvement.

Lord Chancellor.—With all their boldness they have seldom sufficient firmness to utter their real sentiments, if peradventure they are opposed to the current opinions.

Lord Hampden.—I know not one official character who has sufficient moral courage for such an avowal.

Lord Chancellor.—You found one at least when you quoted my address at Glasgow.

Lord Hampden.—The reiteration of that sentiment was doubtless highly useful, but the public was prepared to receive it. Such an avowal a century back would have proved a distinguished example of moral courage, because it would have been far beyond the age: it was indeed uttered by Locke, for I think it is in the first Letter on Toleration where he says, “Speculative opinions therefore, and articles of faith, as they are called, which are required only to be believed, cannot be imposed on any Church by the law of the land. For it is absurd that things should be enjoined by laws, which are not in men’s power to perform.

And to believe this or that to be true, does not depend upon the will." But I almost question—you will excuse my freedom,—whether you yourself would venture to announce the change in your opinions, if you were to go over to the Unitarian system of belief, or still further to the Deism of Gibbon and Hume.

Lord Chancellor.—In that case my hesitation would arise less from a deficiency of moral courage, than from considerations of the public welfare. Such an avowal would render an individual less influential in society, disqualify him from holding any office, and deter the public from attending to anything he should either say or publish.

Lord Hampden.—On the other hand, reflect, my Lord, upon the sensation that would be produced. A virtuous resolve prompts the relinquishment of emolument* and honour. What real dignity would accompany the man in his retreat! And when he occasionally came forth to admonish society of its errors, filled with ideas of moral regeneration, pure in his thoughts, and grand in

* When Granville Sharp received an order to ship some ordnance to America, upon the breaking out of the war with that country, he resigned his situation of 700*l.* per annum in the Tower rather than comply.

“Whenever I behold disinterested sincerity, I bow to it with reverence, however opinions may differ.”—SIR THOMAS BERNARD.

his conceptions,—what could not his impassioned and hallowed eloquence achieve ! The imposing and dazzling glare of high station would fade away ; the hollow foundation of unjust privilege would be shaken ; sophistry and delusion would be exposed ; and truth and justice gain their natural ascendancy.

Lord Chancellor.—As my opinions are not so heterodox, and as more good can be accomplished by continuing in office, it would be a dereliction of duty to indulge in a needless and injurious fastidiousness. But I may ask, in reference to the hypothetical case you have put, what good has Owen effected by the bold declaration of his scepticism ?

Lord Hampden.—Much more than is apparent. Rely upon it, that thousands have silently responded to him, and hailed as a signal blessing the existence of an individual who dared be honest. Although accustomed to fall into the same error, if it be one, myself, there are many who think that he mars his better efforts by attacking the old system, rather than by confining his exertions to the illustration of a better order of society : the exposition of error should be left to others, and Heaven knows there are never wanting reformers of this description !—But to return to the reformation of the public schools. I cannot conceive that any parties, either the

teachers, the pupils, or their parents, would object to it.

Lord Chancellor.—The teachers are in general too tenacious of old methods to listen to innovation*; the parents are too indifferent to the real improvement of the boys; and as long as they are educated with those of their own rank in life, or if, intended for any of the professions, they are likely to form advantageous connexions, it is deemed all-sufficient: their moral culture should appear to be a secondary consideration.

Lord Hampden.—Yet it must be admitted to be the all-important object of education. A glance at any of the public schools is sufficient to convince the observing, that it is utterly impossible to impart a good education under the existing arrangements. The tradespeople encourage the boys in getting in debt, and the teachers are perhaps anxious to ingratiate them-

* “The methods of our education are governed by custom. It is custom, and not reason, that sends every boy to learn the Roman poets, and begin a little acquaintance with Greek, before he is bound apprentice to a soap-boiler or a leather-seller. It is custom alone that teaches us Latin by the rules of a Latin grammar; a tedious and absurd method. And what is it but custom that has for past centuries confined the brightest geniuses, even of the highest rank, in the female world to the employment of the needle only, and secluded them most unmercifully from the pleasures of knowledge and the divine improvements of reason? But we begin to break all these chains, and Reason begins to dictate the education of youth.”

—WATTS.

selves with their pupils, who may one day advance their interests. But still it would not be difficult to convince the preceptors, that they could secure the good opinion of their pupils more effectually, by a method that would be more grateful to both in practice; and if the parents saw that their pupils were improving in their feelings towards all about them, they would be convinced that they were cementing their connexions by ties the most pleasurable and lasting*.

Lord Chancellor.—I think it would be well if the profession of a teacher was held in higher esteem.

Lord Hampden.—When once the proper method of education is generally understood and practised, the profession will rapidly rise in public estimation. There cannot be a more responsible, a more important, a more honourable vocation;—if it would not be sufficiently attractive in itself, and were it not inconsistent with true principles, I should say that the highest academic honours should be reserved for the most successful educators.

Lord Chancellor.—Would that the clergy could be induced to consent to a system of universal education!

* “Most men continue all their days to be just what nature and human education made them. Their manners, their opinions, their virtues, and their vices, are all got by habit, imitation, and instruction.”—DR. REID.

Lord Hampden.—They would soon silence the clamours against the tithes, if men of every sect and denomination from whom payment is enforced, saw them appropriated to the best education of their children; and in many respects the clergy, especially the younger part, are the best qualified for the undertaking:—but I was sorry to observe the example of a clergyman joining his pupil in a fox-chase recorded in the public newspapers.

Lord Chancellor.—How does this agree with your opinion that the clergy should mingle in the sports of all classes?

Lord Hampden.—I could not surely be supposed to mean the sports of the field, the propriety of which, on the part of adults, it is not necessary at present to discuss; but if it is desirable to teach children the sentiments of humanity, are we not frustrating our object by exhibiting a pack of hounds trained to hunt, torment, and kill an animal for mere amusement?—A few days since I copied from one of the newspapers the following paragraph.

“Brighton, Dec. 14.

“Yesterday the Queen and Princess Augusta, attended by their suite, went in three carriages and four to Southes, about four miles from this place, for the purpose of seeing the East Sussex fox-hounds throw off.

“Her Majesty and party left the Pavillion about half-past ten o'clock. In the first carriage were the Queen, Prince George, and Princess Augusta. The second contained the Marchioness and Ladies Cornwallis and Mademoiselle d'Este. In the third carriage were Lady Mary Fox, Lady Kennedy Erskine, and Sir Andrew Barnard. Mr. Hudson, Mr. Shiffner, and the Rev. Mr. Wood, were on horseback. Prince George, on reaching the place of meeting, mounted his pony and joined in the sports of the field. As soon as the Royal party had taken a commanding situation, the hounds were let into the cover, and almost immediately reynard broke in gallant style, being quickly followed by his pursuers. After a circuitous run of nearly an hour, he was compelled to yield, having first run for protection under her Majesty's carriage. Mr. Charles Craven (the manager of the hunt,) had the honour of presenting the brush to her Majesty, which she most kindly accepted. The Royal *cortège* then left for the Pavillion amidst the most enthusiastic cheers of the gentlemen present.”

Lord Chancellor.—The Rev. Mr. Wood may not approve these sports, and yet consider that he can be of more use to society by retaining his appointment, and correcting what cannot altogether be prevented.

Lord Hampden.—I have no doubt he acts from

conscientious motives; but while these examples are rendered so conspicuous, we must not be surprised at the inefficiency of precept*.

The Lord Chancellor's carriage was announced, and Lord Hampden withdrew, after an invitation to a renewed conference.

* "Children are extremely imitative, attentive to every little word and motion, and turn of countenance, and way of acting open to their observation; and I am apt to think their future character depends more upon the sentiments and habits they imbibe inadvertently, than on what is usually comprehended under the term education; nor would I pronounce it impossible that children might be led into all kinds of useful knowledge by a regular, judicious conduct in all those about them, without other aid than such instructions as they would apply for of their own accord. However romantic this notion may seem, yet it cannot be denied that a great deal may be done in this way. Example has always been counted more powerful than precept, and by its bad influence may easily overthrow all the good that has been done by the other. You may in some measure lessen this influence from the examples of other persons, by showing their evil tendency, or turning them into ridicule; but you cannot condemn or ridicule your own actions; you will have neither inclination nor eyes to see your own faults; nor will it be prudent to lessen yourself in the child's esteem. Juvenal says, The greatest reverence is due to children; by which must be understood, that we cannot be too much on our guard how we behave before them; never to betray any marks of passion, intemperance, greediness, folly, or selfishness, in their presence; if we have a foible we are resolved not to part with, let us at least reserve the indulgence of it for times when they are not by."—TUCKER'S *Light of Nature*.

CHAPTER VI.

“O tell me, Cela, when shall be the time
That all the restless spirits of this clime,
Erring so widely in the search of bliss,
Shall win a milder, happier world than this.”

PILGRIMS OF THE SUN.

IF the advocates of a better order of society had cause to lament the neglect of their theory, the political economists were not in a more flourishing condition. It is true they had received some patronage from the London University; but that Institution was rising upon half-fledged wings, and was itself waiting for patronage. Mr. M'Culloch had tried to initiate some ingenuous youths into the mysteries of his crude and contradictory speculations; which proved, however, so incomprehensible, that his diminutive number of pupils soon became less, and dropping off one by one, left the Professor desolate. The work of Mr. Malthus on Population had fallen in general estimation; the last edition had crept forth in the shape of a thin pocket volume; and there was some reason to hope that this politico-economical sect were repudiating their errors, and that the world would no longer be alarmed by the fears of redundant population.

Such was the forlorn state of their affairs, when suddenly their spirits were revived by the powerful aid of a writer, who, adopting all their opinions, circulated them in tales of considerable pathos, and invested them with the charms of a fertile imagination. The tales became remarkably popular;—with the poor, because the sad story of their privation and sufferings was related with tenderness and compassion;—with the rich, because the remedies proposed left them in quiet enjoyment of their superfluities. The “*Illustrations of Political Economy*,” by Miss Martineau, have depicted too faithfully the abject poverty and misery of the labouring classes: and although this has been ably done before by some of our first writers both in poetry and prose, never has their misery, in some instances, been described with so much nature and truth.

This is the first time that the pen of a writer of taste and imagination has been employed on the side of the political economists; and, as if their cold restricting theories were destined to blight the fairest promise of genius, even Miss Martineau has exhibited the effects of their petrifying influence. With all her inimitable skill in representing “*things as they are*,” and in portraying the most touching scenes of oppressed humanity, we no-where recognise a consciousness of those latent but nobler capacities

of the species, which, however chilled by poverty, or perverted by riches, have not escaped the observation of more profound inquirers.

Serious calamities and aggravated misery arrest her attention: she would relieve their wants, and raise the poor from their lowest degradation,—but she would elevate them only to the condition of servants. While science can now be rendered almost the only servant, certainly the only laborious servant of humanity, she would still doom the million to be the mere hewers of wood and drawers of water, and to earn their bread only by the sweat of their brow, regardless of that comprehensive appliance of scientific power, which would afford leisure to all to improve the higher faculties of their nature. She discovers much mischief in a “Manchester strike,” but none in the incarceration from morning till night of thousands of little children in cotton-mills; inhaling an unwholesome atmosphere, amid the incessant din of wheels and machinery;—none in the obliteration of their mental qualities, in the corruption of their morals, or in their wan and sickly appearance.

“Life’s real joys are few,

But ample for the reach of happiness:

Health and a quiet mind include them all.

But can the wretch who, by unceasing toil

From early morn till night, year after year,

Must earn his meagre food, feel peace of mind?

Can his worn frame have the fresh glow of health?
 Can he look pleased on Nature's endless charms,
 Which he must never taste? The fields and woods,
 The seas and hills, are beautiful; but he
 Must sweat in the hot factory or mine,
 Shut from the wholesome airs of heaven, the sights,
 The pleasant sounds of Nature. When he rests,
 'Tis not to enjoy the happiness of being,
 The consciousness of life on this fine earth,
 But to prepare his jaded limbs to meet
 Another day of toil and misery.
 And for what end? That some proud, pamper'd man
 May drink himself to drunkenness,—may gorge
 His greedy stomach till the bloated mass
 Becomes corruption,—deck his useless limbs
 With gaudy ornaments, and call himself
 Wealthy and great. But is *he* happy then?
 Hath the unremitting toil and wretchedness
 Of hundreds given in one heap to him
 The happiness that hundreds should have shared?
 No! he is proud and wrathful,—covetous
 Of more, though he already hath too much:
 A thousand foolish wants are satisfied,
 But thousands more arise*."

Like the school to which she belongs, Miss Martineau has not distinguished the effects of machinery upon its first introduction and during its progress towards a period when the supply of labour is permanently superabundant, and when that period has actually arrived. In the former case, machinery by cheapening the manufactured goods increased the consumption, and created a greater demand for labourers than existed before;

* ATHERSTONE'S *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

in the latter case, when machines are so numerous that many are laid by, and the labourers standing idle, an abridgement of labour increases the number of the idlers, and is of no avail in the increase of capital; for the markets being already saturated with labour and its product capital, production ceases to be profitable*. How then can it be said, as in the Summary of Principles to No. 2, that productive industry is proportioned to capital, whether that capital be fixed or reproducible? “The interests of the two classes of producers, labourers and capitalists, are therefore the same; the prosperity of both depending on the accumulation of capital.” Capital may go on increasing while the labourer is receiving the smallest rate of wages, frequently not more than

* When Lee, the inventor of the stocking-frame, came to London with the view of obtaining Queen Elizabeth’s patronage,—though supported by many persons of influence about the Court, the Queen refused to aid him either by a grant of money, or of a patent; adding, as her reason, “I have too much love for my poor people, who obtain their bread by the employment of knitting, to give my money to forward an invention which will tend to their ruin, and thus make them beggars.”

D’Israeli in his “Curiosities of Literature” relates that when a Jew, who was a famous Dutch printer, brought to Constantinople printing-presses, &c. to introduce the art of printing in that city, the vizier caused him to be hanged, declaring that it would be a great cruelty that one man should enrich himself by taking the bread of eleven thousand scribes, who gained their living by their pen.

In Mr. Moore’s Life of Lord Byron is the following extract

his parish would be obliged to pay him. The overwhelming power of machinery now occasions rapid and immense production ; this increases competition, and reduces profits to such a degree, that the more wealthy capitalists, by making very large returns, can alone succeed ; the smaller proprietors are distressed, their funds are wasted, and thousands, perhaps millions of the people, are reduced to the alternative of seeking relief from the parish, or by the trade of plunder. This cause of general commercial difficulty, and of widespread poverty in the midst of unexampled riches, is entirely overlooked ; and wherever some subsidiary or local circumstances cannot be lighted on, refuge is sought in the Malthusian theory of

from His Lordship's speech on the Nottingham Frame-breaking Bill.—“These men never destroyed their looms till they were become useless—worse than useless—till they were become actual impediments to their exertions in obtaining their daily bread. Can you then wonder that in times like these, when bankruptcy, convicted fraud, and imputed felony, are found in a station not far beneath that of your lordships, the lowest, though once most useful portion of the people, should forget their duty in their distresses, and become only less guilty than one of their representatives ? But while the exalted offender can find means to baffle the law, new capital punishments must be devised, new snares of death must be spread for the wretched mechanic who is famished into guilt. These men were willing to dig, but the spade was in other hands : they were not ashamed to beg, but there was none to relieve them. Their own means of subsistence were cut off ; and other employments preoccupied.”

over-population,—“population increases faster than the means of subsistence.” As each individual can produce much more than he is able to consume, every new-born infant is an increase in the means of production beyond consumption: but if the land is possessed by a few, and the population, as in Ireland, are deprived of the fruits of their industry, all that can be said is, that population may increase faster than the wisdom, justice, and benevolence necessary to alter those institutions of the country which take from the humbler classes the abundant means of subsistence, and to adapt them to the present wants of society.—But let us see what remedy is proposed for this supposed evil.

In Illustration No. 6. it is remarked: “By bringing no more children into the world than there is a subsistence provided for, society may preserve itself from the miseries of want. In other words, the timely use of the mild preventive check may avert the horrors of any positive check*.”

* Mr. Wilmott Horton conceived that he entertained more enlarged views than Mr. Whitbread, or even Mr. Pitt! The following is, however, but a sorry specimen of the comprehensiveness of his mind. “It was surprising that it did not suggest itself to the minds of Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Pitt, that to encourage marriage and the rearing of large families at the moment when labourers were suffering from a redundancy of population, was opposed to every sound principle. If the question had been a glut in the sugar market, would

Of all the speculations of the political economists for removing the ills of society, there is not one that appears so extravagant as that of supposing that the people will forgo, in addition to their other privations, the comforts of domestic society. To impart to them sufficient information to take even the comparatively comprehensive view of the subject as the economists themselves, would give them that insight into the actual structure of society as would lead to its subversion too speedily to admit of the careful substitution of a better:—that an individual will, under some circumstances, refrain from marriage for the sake of other enjoyments, daily experience convinces us; but to suppose that millions of people will consent to an unnatural abstinence, which after all would prove no remedy to themselves, for the accommodation of a fractional portion of the community, and to prolong the existence of that monopoly of which they are the greatest victims, it is difficult to imagine. The people will continue to unite as they ought, under the form prescribed by religion, at the age indicated by nature; and they would do well to refuse unanimously to emigrate, but

Mr. Pitt have proposed a bonus on the importation of that article?"—"After going at some length into that inquiry, the Right Honourable gentleman proceeded to contend, that it was the potatoe system which led to the redundancy of population in Ireland."—Speech of Mr. WILMOTT HORTON *On the Condition of the Poor and Labouring Classes*, March 9th, 1830.

remain an increasing burden (as the small extorted restitution is called,) upon the rich, until dire necessity shall compel them to be just.

Goldsmith, Crabbe, Burns, and Bloomfield, would have hung their harps upon the trees to sigh to the passing wind, sooner than have exulted in the inclosure of the village-greens*. Miss Martineau has discovered that those changes which have been deplored as injuries are blessings to the poor; and they have only to read her Works to be convinced of their increased felicity! Should they exhibit their hungry, lean, and ragged children, their ruinous hovels and empty cupboards, she consoles by reminding them “of the mild preventive check.” Even the allotment of land is an evil, because it accelerates the increase of population. Such is the conclusion in “Cousin Marshall,” the Summary of Principles to which, exhibits great confusion of ideas;—but this was one of the Numbers noticed upon an occasion which I have now to mention.

Bertrand had long desired an invitation to the club of the political economists, but he had no intimacy with any of their connexions; and it was understood that their meetings had been discontinued. He attended at the London University on the first day of February in the present year, to hear Mr. M'Culloch's introductory lecture,

* See Appendix H.

which had been previously announced ; but he was informed that in consequence of the Professor being unable to form a class, he had abandoned the idea of lecturing. About this time he had an opportunity of meeting Mr. M'Culloch, Mr. Malthus, and other public characters not accustomed to mix with the economists, Mr. Joseph Hume, and Mr. Attwood, at a large literary *conversazione*; and these individuals assembled with him round a table on which were spread, along with other works, all the Numbers of Miss Martineau's "Illustrations" at that time published. Bertrand took up "Homes Abroad," and read just loud enough to attract the notice of those near him a passage from the Summary of Principles. "Home colonies may afford a temporary relief to a redundant population, and also increase the productiveness of the lands which they appropriate; but this is done by alienating capital from its natural channels, and with the certainty of injuring society by increasing the redundancy of population over capital."

Mr. Malthus.—A most just remark.

Bertrand.—Pardon me, Sir; but I do not perceive how capital can be alienated from its natural channel, when employed economically in providing for the future.

Mr. Malthus.—If the poor are supplied with food from waste land cultivated by themselves,

they cease to be customers to the farmer, who already feels the consequences of the supply exceeding the demand.

Bertrand.—But if the poor emigrate, the consequences in that respect would be the same.

Mr. Malthus.—Not precisely so, as home colonies would be continually sending their surplus produce into the general market.

Bertrand.—But suppose these colonies were planted in various parts of the country,—some in the coal districts, some in the manufacturing districts, others in the agricultural counties, they could then mutually supply all their wants by means of exchange without interfering with general society*.

Mr. Malthus.—Capital will at all events be required for its commencement.

Bertrand.—It will be required also for emigra-

* “There are in Ireland five millions of English acres of waste land, whose lowest elevation is 203 feet above the level of the sea, at low water. Their best manure, limestone gravel, lies in central hills, with every facility to improvement by water-carriage. The bogs of Ireland differ from the boggy, moory, and fenny lands of England, with regard to the facility of reclaiming, and still more in point of value. In other countries, reclaiming requires considerable skill, and is expensive; in Ireland nature has been so bountiful, that little skill and small expense will do. If the proprietors of waste lands in Ireland will come fairly forward, give the people long leases, and let them at a fair rate proportionate to their yearly produce, so that each party would have a mutual interest in their improvement, as is the case in Italy and France,—and if they

tion, and the punishment of crime, as both consume capital*.

Mr. Malthus.—I think, Sir, you once called upon me at Hertford, when we discussed similar expedients?

Bertrand.—I had that pleasure, Sir; and I recollect that you expressed a doubt of the permanence of any society without an inequality of ranks. Miss Martineau, I observe, in this very Number expresses her fear that where all are bodily employed there can be no mental exertion:—Forgetting the wonderful facility afforded by machinery in lightening manual labour, she quotes the example of emigration among the Greeks, and fancies that, unless what she considers a surplus number is sent away, all must toil, and every higher pursuit be sacrificed.

Mr. Malthus.—The division of labour enables would also allow a primary expenditure of three pounds an acre, the people will willingly give their present *waste labour* without any charge, in expectation of future independence. Thus, on the very principle which leads so many of our countrymen into the wilds of America,—*the hope of bettering their condition*,—might thousands of poor, hungry, neglected brethren be comfortably employed, and the country rise in value, physically and morally.”—BRYAN’S *Practical View*.

* The cost of each prisoner in the Milbank penitentiary is fifty-six pounds per annum, that of prisoners in most other gaols about thirty-eight pounds per annum; while in the county of Surrey, according to Mr. H. Drummond, an agricultural labourer, on ten shillings a week, or twenty-six pounds per annum, is expected to maintain himself, his wife, and three children.

each to acquire greater proficiency in his particular pursuit.

Bertrand.—But bodily exercise is absolutely necessary to the preservation of health, and is not the less agreeable when connected with utility; the mind itself is enfeebled not only by being strained, but by corporeal lassitude: if all were partly engaged in agriculture, each would still have more time than should be devoted exclusively to any single object:—and besides, more general information and a practical knowledge of the arts and sciences enlarge the mind, enable the individual to prosecute his favourite study more successfully, and to understand better all its bearings and relations. It is owing to exclusive studies that men of talent at this day are unable to seize upon universal truths, if newly discovered.

Mr. Hume.—It will be of little avail to attempt any relief until the burden of taxation has been lightened, sinecures abolished, and the expenses of government reduced*.

* Whether the Tory Ministers were convinced of the necessity of economy or not, Mr. Hume must have been satisfied, by the following passage in Mr. Dawson's speech, that the Secretary was skilled in minute, if not in profound investigation. "He had shown that a reduction of 30 per cent. had been effected on the salaries of public officers since 1821. Would any Honourable Member show him that a similar reduction had taken place in the necessaries of life? He thought not; for in 1822, the

Bertrand.—I apprehend, Sir, that such measures will afford no relief whatever to the working classes; the money raised in taxes is paid to those who again circulate it in society, and goes to the employment of labourers.

Mr. Hume.—That, Sir, is a bold assertion, and opposed to the general voice of the country;—nay, all parties are now calling out for economy.

Bertrand.—Still it is a delusion to imagine that it will bring any relief: on the contrary, the dismissal of public servants, and the abolition of sinecures, however consonant to justice, so far from bringing relief, will occasion a temporary aggravation of the distress, by diverting the expenditure from one channel to another.

Mr. Malthus.—In that opinion I can join you. To those who live upon fixed incomes the relief from taxation is a great and unmixed good; to the mercantile and trading classes it is sometimes a good and sometimes an evil, according to circumstances; but to the working classes no taking off of taxes, nor any degree of cheapness of corn, can compensate a want of demand for labour*.

price of a leg of mutton was 6*d.* per lb.; in 1830, it was 8*d.* per lb.; in 1822, the price of a shoulder of mutton was 5*d.* per lb., and in 1830 it was 7*d.* per lb. He believed that this, though not a Parliamentary account, was correct.”—See *Parliamentary Reports in The Times*, February 13th, 1830.

* See Malthus's *Principles of Political Economy*.

Mr. Hume.—If such were the case, it would be useless to take off any assessed taxes.

Bertrand.—Not with reference to some classes, as Mr. Malthus has observed; but it will not relieve the working classes. What has been the amount of the taxes and duties abolished since the peace? at least thirty millions*.—And is our condition improved within the last ten years? And if tithes were abolished, the landlords would obtain what the clergy lose.

Mr. Attwood.—One of the leading causes of

* Taxes and Duties repealed since 1820.

1821. Husbandry horses	£480,000	£
		480,000
1822. Malt, from 3s. 6d. to 2s. 6d.	1,400,000	
Salt, from 30s. per cwt. to 2s. 6d.	1,300,000	
Remainder to cease 5th Jan. 1825	300,000	
Leather, from 3d. to 1½d. per lb.	300,000	
Tonnage on shipping repealed	160,000	
Hearth and window duty relieved.	150,000	
Union Duties, &c. partial.	150,000	
		3,760,000
1823. Spirits in Ireland and Scotland	800,000	
Assessed taxes, partial	2,360,000	
		3,160,000
1824. Rum from 11s. 7½d. to 10s. 6d.	150,000	
Coals, coastways, partial	100,000	
Silk, raw, from 5s. 6d. to 3s.	} 450,000	
Do. thrown, from 14s. 8d. to 7s. 6d.		
Sheep's wool, from 6d. to 1d.	350,000	
Stamps on law proceedings repealed.	200,000	
		1,250,000
		8,650,000

the existing distress was Peel's Bill, for nothing is more injurious than tampering with the currency.

Bertrand.—But the Bill was passed so long since, that any detrimental consequences must have ceased.

	£
Brought forward	8,650,000
1825. Hemp, from 9s. 4d. to 4s. 8d. . . .	£100,000
For. iron, 7s. 6d. to 1s. 6d.	50,000
Coffee and cocoa, 1s. to 6d.	150,000
Rum, 10s. 6d. to 8s.	225,000
Wines, French, 11s. 5d. to 6s.	} 800,000
Do. other, 7s. 7d. to 4s.	
British Spirits, 10s. 6d. to 5s. 6d. . . .	750,000
Cider, repealed	20,000
635,936 houses not having more than 7 windows.	91,000
171,739 houses under 10l.	144,000
Sundry other Assessments	24,995
	2,354,995
1826. Tobacco, 4s. to 3s.	600,000
Gold and silver wire.	12,000
	612,000
1830. from 10th October. Beer, repealed	3,300,000
Cider and perry, repealed	30,000
Leather	380,000
	3,710,000
1831. Printed calicoes	600,000
Candles	500,000
	1,100,000
1832. Coals and stone coastways	900,000
Sundry Customs	100,000
	17,426,995
Property tax	15,225,000
	£ 32,651,995

Mr. Attwood.—These are still felt, for we require a larger amount of circulating medium.

Bertrand.—Unless that enlargement could raise the value of labour, how could it be beneficial to the working classes? There is evidently no want of capital; for its holders know not how to employ it, and any responsible party can borrow at very moderate interest.

Mr. Attwood.—If a larger circulation were permitted, it would induce bankers to assist the manufacturers.

Bertrand.—But such assistance might tempt men with borrowed capital to embark in hazardous manufactures, and undersell those who had wealth, to their own ultimate ruin.

Mr. Attwood.—Still it would give employment to the people, even if their machinery was sold at a great loss when failures occurred.

Bertrand.—Such a system would lead to a repetition of the disasters of 1825; and occasion great demoralization and distress.

Mr. Attwood.—There was always more business when the issues were large, and more wealth created when bank notes and bills were circulated.

Bertrand.—Gold is only the representative of wealth, and has a higher conventional value than paper, because it circulates in all parts of the world, and is not liable to depreciation from the diminished credit of the parties who issue it. As

gold is the representative of wealth, bank notes are the representative of the representative; and bills of exchange paid in bank notes are the representative of the representative of the representative.

Mr. Hume.—What, then, is to be done?

Bertrand.—Employment on land must be found under a system of mutual support.

Mr. M'Culloch.—Such a remedy would be at variance with every principle in the science of political economy: Hear Miss Martineau on the subject, in the Tale entitled “For Each, and for All.” “Whatever may be the saving effected by an extensive partnership, such partnership does not affect the natural laws by which population increases faster than capital. The diminution of the returns to capital must occasion poverty to a multiplying society, whether those returns are appropriated by individuals under the competitive system, or equally distributed among the members of a co-operative community.”

Bertrand.—Although Miss Martineau perceives that in this country and in Ireland, where thousands and tens of thousands are either unemployed, or occupied in the work of destruction, capital superabounds and increases,—she still persists in maintaining that under a system in which all shall be productively and economically employed, capital is to decline!—These amusing

Tales have happily rendered the fallacies of the school still more palpable. I should be sorry to suspect Miss Martineau of disingenuousness upon a subject of such vital importance to the interests of humanity, as the great question, the consideration of which is involved in this Number. But to pass by the works of Owen and Thompson, in order to consider the success of a little trading association in a country village, as the criterion of the utility of an important change in the constitution of society, is not quite intelligible, when the professed object of these "Illustrations" is remembered. Why has she not attempted to refute the arguments of the above-mentioned writers, rather than confound their development of a great and universal principle with the chandler's shop of a few mechanics, struggling to escape the evils pressing so heavily upon their class?

Mr. M'Culloch.—But here, in another part of the Work, the principle is fairly met: "No one labours, or ever will labour, without a view to the fruits; and those fruits, however appropriated, are property."

Bertrand.—Does Miss Martineau mean to say, that she would not labour to establish truth and to benefit society, unless she derived some profit from her exertions? that she would be deterred from writing on the side of Owen and Thompson

merely because such views were unpatronized by the great, and disapproved by the Reviewers?

Mr. M' Culloch.—Experience bears her out when she says, “If a giant produces ten times as much as a dwarf, and each is allowed the same middle portion of the fruits for his maintenance and enjoyment,—is it to be supposed that the giant will trouble himself henceforth to produce more than the dwarf? He will be more likely to seize some of the dwarf's portion.”

Bertrand.—Experience may confirm such conclusions, if the ignorant or imperfectly educated, under systems where the selfish feelings are assiduously cultivated, are referred to; but even under these systems, the instances are numerous of the pursuit of good for its own sake: besides, the power of religion seems to be held in light estimation by those who doubt its efficacy in establishing benevolence among mankind! Equally under-rated is the capability of a superior education, including that of superior circumstances, in imparting to all, the strength of giants in moral sentiment, and of extinguishing those grovelling views of a misdirected self-interest, which are found in a state of society competent to produce dwarfs only in intellectual power.—But before laying down that Number, allow me to read her proposed remedies.

“1. The due limitation of the number of consumers.”

Mr. Malthus.—Hear, hear!

“2. The lightening of the public burdens, which at present abstract a large proportion of the profits and wages.”

Mr. Hume.—Hear, hear!

“3. A liberal commercial system, which shall obviate the necessity of bringing poor soils into cultivation.”

Mr. M'Culloch.—Hear, hear!

Bertrand.—The two first we have already replied to. Regarding the third, I would inquire of the advocates of free trade, in what way the most free and unrestricted commercial intercourse among nations can raise the value of labour?

Mr. M'Culloch.—Is it not obvious that the more imports and exports there are, the greater must be the prosperity of a country?

Bertrand.—By no means; for the imports and exports of this country have been increasing for many years past, while commercial difficulties and moral evils have been accumulating:—look, for example, to Ireland. A Table has been published, from which I made an extract; and by which it appears that the average imports, for the three years succeeding 1800, were, compared with the average imports of the three years ending

1825, as £4,790,000 to £7,491,000;—the increase of the exports being still greater. The exports of oxen and sheep in the last three years were more than four-fold. The exports of flour were in the first three years 24,077 barrels; in the three years ending 1826, 375,781 barrels. The oats and oatmeal exports, which in the first period amounted to 320,741, amounted in the last three years to 1,301,108 barrels. A freer intercourse now subsists between this country and France,—and is the condition of the people in either country improved*?

Mr. McCulloch.—You are contending against one of the most indisputable principles of political

* “From an official return of the state of the French metropolis for 1832, it appears, that of the whole population (770,286) 68,986 are maintained at the public expense. But this number includes only the known poor: it is calculated that there are just as many struggling with poverty in secret;—whence it follows that a seventh part of the population of Paris is dependent upon charity.”—*Medical Gazette*.

At a Meeting of Subscribers to the Association for the Relief of the Poor, held at the London Coffee House, December 1832, the Report stated, that but for the timely assistance which this Association afforded to the labouring population, thousands must have perished who were unable, from want of employment, to provide themselves with fuel and food. Alderman Wilson descanted upon the heart-rending scenes which he, in his magisterial capacity, had witnessed. There was a vast number of poor creatures of both sexes, who solicited imprisonment in preference to being left to starve in the streets.

In the same month the Treasurer of Bridewell complained

economy, when you deny the disadvantages of monopoly.

Bertrand.—I do not question either the evils, or the injustice of monopolies; but I contend that such is now the overwhelming power of production, that the abolition of all monopolies excepting one, will but render the struggles of competition more violent and disastrous, and tend to the more rapid demoralization of society.

Mr. M'Culloch.—Is not the reduction of price a benefit?

Bertrand.—Mark the present difficulties of society, and say what benefit accrues from cheapness and abundance.

Mr. M'Culloch.—But what is this one monopoly that you except?

Bertrand.—Monopoly in land; for what monopoly inflicts evils of such magnitude as that of land? It is the sole barrier to national, to universal prosperity. The people, the only creators of wealth, possess knowledge; they possess industry; and if they possessed land, they could set all other monopolies at defiance; they would then be enabled to employ machinery for their

to the Lord Mayor of the crowded state of the prison preventing means of classification; and a correspondent of the Times newspaper stated that in the House of Correction, Cold Bath Fields, there was the incredible number of 1,350 prisoners.—See Appendix I.

own benefit, and the world would behold with delight and astonishment the beneficial effects of this mighty engine, when properly directed*.

Mr. M'Culloch.—But how can you disturb this monopoly without interfering with the right of private property?

Bertrand.—You give up your principle, then, of the impolicy of monopolies?

Mr. M'Culloch.—By no means: I would leave every man free to obtain as much as he can, without giving exclusive advantages to any individual, or to any corporation.

Bertrand.—It is an acknowledged fact, that property is accumulating in the hands of a few, whose power of increasing their stores to the injury of others increases with the extent of their possessions. What chance is there that those who are destitute can ever rise above their condition, except by accident? or that the small capitalist should compete successfully with the larger? The land inclosed of late years has been appropriated by proprietors of contiguous property; but there is abundance of waste land remaining; and if there were not, it would be to the interest of land-owners to give up a part for the self-support of the poor, being a much more economical plan, and more consistent with the requirements of

* Preface to the "Reproof of Brutus."

religion and of sound policy, than the present workhouse system*.

Mr. Hume.—There is at least one advantage that would attend an unrestricted intercourse among the nations of Europe. It would not be in the power of the rulers of one country to induce the people to go to war with the people of another, any more than they could now prevail upon one county to war against another. Freedom of commerce and cheap government would be the result of vote by ballot.

Bertrand.—America has these,—at least the two latter. Is she better off than the rest of the world, excepting in those advantages derived from local circumstances? The United States appear to experience similar difficulties; for in 1829 a memorial was presented to the legislature of the State of New York, in which the following Resolution of a Meeting was embodied: “That we view with regret the extremes of wealth and poverty daily increasing in this young republic;

* Sir Francis Burdett, in his speech on the Condition of the Poor, March 9th, 1830, seems to have ridiculed the idea of enriching the poor, and to have touched a consenting chord in the breasts of his audience: he remarked, “An honourable friend of his below him had, he thought, taken a short-sighted view of this subject. His honourable friend had said, ‘Give every poor man an acre of land.’ Why to be sure, if they could make the poor rich, they would be no longer poor.

and that with our increasing population, vice and poverty have for some years proportionably increased.”—Similar effects are complained of all over Europe*; but in Great Britain the evils are greatly aggravated, in consequence of our population being more dense, and our manufactures more extended. Scientific power, virtually the same as labour in the market, depresses, directly or indirectly, the value of every species of employment†.

* Accounts from Lisle in 1827, stated that in the great plain round that city, in which there are several large towns, such as Roubaix, Turcoin, and Moscroen, many thousand workmen live, who gain a good livelihood by working at the manufactures. Within the year English manufacturers had settled there, and furnished better work. The jealousy thus excited; and also a diminution of the demand, occasioned disturbances.

† In a Report of the Society for Improving Prison Discipline, it is mentioned, that the amount of crime in proportion to population is as follows:—England, 1 criminal in 740 of the people; in Wales, 1 in 2320; in Ireland, 1 in 490; in Scotland, 1 in 1130; in Denmark, 1 in 1700; in Sweden, 1 in 1500; in the United States of America, 1 in 3500; and in New South Wales, 1 in 22.

CHAPTER VII.

“ Of proud ambitious heart, who, not content
With fair equality, fraternal state !
Will arrogate dominion undeserv'd
Over his brethren, and quite dispossess
Concord and law of nature from the earth.”

MILTON.

AS Vela had come in the mail direct from Liverpool to London, he had had no opportunity of visiting the manufacturing districts; and Bertrand therefore engaged to accompany him to Birmingham and Manchester. They stopped one day at Oxford, and took a rapid survey of the colleges, intending to return upon another occasion with letters of introduction to some of the heads of colleges. Vela was highly pleased with the beauty and elegance of the buildings, and with the general conveniences for studious retirement. He was much perplexed in his endeavours to account for the almost exclusive attention to the ancient classics. With such works of the leading Grecian and Roman authors as had been translated he was familiar; but they appeared to him so barren of useful information, compared with Works of science and natural philosophy,

that he could not understand the motives that induced such an exclusive attention to them. Upon entering one of the stages passing through Oxford to Birmingham, they found themselves seated opposite a young member of the Society of Friends, and a clergyman who from the shape of his hat appeared to be a Doctor in Divinity. It was not long before Bertrand started a subject of conversation; and he kept alive their colloquies by introducing topics calculated to show in juxtaposition the sentiments of the different parties. It was amusing to witness the caution with which the Doctor and the Friend qualified their assent to the different propositions, as they were more or less in accordance with their tenets; and Vela afterwards remarked that no individuals, from parts of the globe the most remote from each other, could be in some respects so dissimilar as these two characters living in the same country, and professing the same faith. The clergyman left them a few miles beyond Blenheim; and his seat was soon after occupied by a young Oxonian, whose opinions will appear in the following conversation.

Vela.—The gentleman who has just quitted the coach appears to hold a different opinion regarding West India slavery; for he has left the tract given to him, and he was evidently disinclined to converse on that subject.

The Friend.—Perhaps he has some misconceptions of the motives of the advocates for Abolition.

The Oxonian.—There can scarcely be but one opinion as to the imprudence and injustice of immediate abolition.

The Friend.—But, friend, can we be too prompt in doing our duty, and wiping away this stain upon the character of the nation?

The Oxonian.—Have you not stains of a deeper dye? Talk of slavery!—look to the condition of the Irish peasantry;—look to the condition of the people in the collieries, seldom breathing the air of heaven, and debarred from daylight for months together;—look to the condition of the people in your furnaces and manufactories—and look to the condition of the children in those districts, confined for sixteen hours together; and then say which are the most oppressed slaves!

The Friend.—In all the cases thou hast mentioned the work is perfectly voluntary.

Bertrand.—It is so far voluntary, that they must either submit to it or starve.

The Friend.—There are poor-laws, friend.

Bertrand.—But such relief is given to those only who are old and infirm, or sick; from those who can have these employments it is withheld.

The Oxonian.—English is worse than West India slavery in every respect but in name,—far worse. The Planter has an interest in the health

of his slave, because if he dies, he is a positive loss to him;—if the English slave dies, the master may be a gainer in a better workman. If the former is ill, the Planter has less work performed, and he is therefore anxious to restore the invalid to health;—if the white slave is ill, his employer turns him off, and supplies his place by another from the market.

The Friend.—But dost not thou think that slavery is wrong?

The Oxonian.—The importation of slaves into the West Indian Islands is already prohibited; and as to the condition of those now in Jamaica, in what consists their greater bondage than that of the English and Irish labourer? I have shown that the privilege of the latter is only that of descending from bad to worse. I am not vindicating the existence of slavery because my father happens to have estates in the West Indies; but I maintain, that if what you consider to be a duty leads you to advocate the immediate emancipation of negroes, the nation is bound to make compensation to the West India proprietors for all the loss they may sustain.

The Friend.—But if particular interests are to be thus considered, all hope of general and extensive improvement must be at an end: slavery should never be tolerated in the colonies of a Christian country.

The Oxonian.—Suppose I adopt the opinions of some modern Utopian philosophers, and say that each inhabitant born on this island has a right to a portion of the land;—am I justified in taking it away from its present possessors without giving them compensation?

Bertrand.—I, who perhaps am one of the Utopian speculators, do not think that any single right or privilege that the laws of the country have sanctioned, should be taken away without giving an equivalent; and if the whole nation decree that the slaves should be emancipated, a tax ought to be levied upon all, including the proprietors themselves, for the purchase of their freedom; and so of all privileges, and even usurpations that have been confirmed by their existence for a century, or any given time, and in the wrongs of which the immediate possessors were not implicated.

The Oxonian.—Stop, Sir, you are going too far; since there are many funds expended in sumptuous dinners and fantastical decorations of buildings, instead of being given to the poor according to the bequest of the testator.

Bertrand.—I concede, Sir, that exception, and some others of a similar kind: and I must certainly agree with you, that the oppression under which the labouring classes are now reduced has a prior claim to relief; not merely because their

sufferings are far more severe, but because they are members of our own community, and can be more readily assisted. When justice has been done to them, the slavery of the West Indies should be next attended to.

The Friend.—Some of our Society have been distributing tracts against tithes, as an unjust demand upon us, who are not benefited by the churches. Such claims, notwithstanding their antiquity, are no less a grievance to all Dissenters.

Bertrand.—One of your Society lately gave me, although a stranger to him, not a small tract, but a bound book, containing Milton's opinion on the subject of tithes; and he appeared to be very zealous in his opposition: but I wished rather to see a desire to make compensation. To deprive a clergyman of that species of property, would be as manifestly an act of gross injustice as any other spoliation. Many of your Society have extensive property in land, which they would be unwilling to relinquish;—and remember, it is not to the poor that the tithes would be resigned, but to the wealthy classes of society; and I have no doubt the clergy would be disposed to give up as great a proportion of their property as others, for the benefit of the labouring classes.

The Friend.—The Members of our Society have obtained their property by industry, and their right to it is therefore indisputable.

Bertrand.—If we were to examine too curiously whence the right is derived, which enables us to command the labour of others, we should perhaps be considered as treading upon hallowed ground: however, I would advise all who seek to raise a prejudice against any class on account of the position and privileges it holds in society, rather to found their arguments for a change upon the general benefit that will accrue to all,—lest the tenure of their own possessions should undergo a rigid and a fearful scrutiny.

Vela.—In the few observations made by the clergyman there appeared to be much amiableness of disposition; but I could not understand why he did not join in condemning the wars in which your country has been engaged.

Bertrand.—Because he most probably deemed them inevitable; and therein he evinced the evils of an education too exclusive and professional, which renders him less able than others, of more general acquirements, to appreciate justly universal principles. Often have I admired the earnest desire for the welfare of man so unequivocally displayed by the Bishops in their Charges to the clergy; yet during the late war they directed the nation to offer up praises and thanksgivings to the Deity for superior skill in the military art; while an unprejudiced observer could discover in the composition of two contending armies, an

ignorant and deluded people led forth to destroy each other for the imaginary benefit or to gratify the caprices of a few. *Te Deum* was sung alternately by both nations. From those who sincerely joined in these acknowledgements of Divine interposition, the real character of the conflict was disguised by the duties they owed and the love they bore to their own communities, as well as by the conviction that mankind were destined, as all past ages testified, to be afflicted for ever with the scourge of war.

The Oxonian.—Your objection, Sir, to professional studies applies not to one which will soon engage my attention,—that of the Law.

Bertrand.—I am far from objecting to professional studies altogether; and I must beg to remind you of the qualified manner in which I spoke: I said, when they were “too exclusive;” and with this qualification I should express the same opinion on the study of the law. How few philosophical works have emanated from the profession since the days of Bacon, More, and Hale! This perhaps arises from the intricate and complicated state of the law, demanding so much time in its study, and rendering it necessary to burden the memory with precedents, instead of exercising the judgement. Thus it is that the controversial writer on political economy is to be found in the Church and in the Law, overthrowing the

prevailing theory in order to substitute his own, which is destined in a short time to be displaced by another* ; all unable to discover the fundamental error subscribed to by each, and which is in general almost the only opinion they hold in common.

The Friend.—What sayest thou of the study of Medicine ?

Bertrand.—The medical profession is confined to the study of Nature, and it has produced more successful and unprejudiced authors in the various branches of philosophical investigation, than all the other professions put together.

The Oxonian.—I look forward with no pleasing anticipations to the dry study of the law. My father wishes me to read works on Jurisprudence, beginning with the Pandects of Justinian, through Puffendorf, and Grotius, and I know not how many more, down to Austin, the Professor of Jurisprudence at the London University.

Bertrand.—There you will find a strange compound of truth and error, arising from a notion

* In proof of the little connexion between political economy, as taught by its present Professors, and universal principles, Mr. Senior, late Professor of Political Economy at the University of Oxford, makes the following remark: "It is not with happiness, but with wealth, that I am concerned as a political economist; and I am not only justified in omitting, but perhaps am bound to omit, all considerations which have no influence on wealth."

that it is impossible so to educate children, as to render subjection to a virtuous course of action the most attractive and delightful. There are, however, some passages that would seem to incline to an opposite opinion*, which, if it really predominated, would render such a laborious treatise unnecessary. Plutarch informs us, that Lycurgus resolved the whole business of legislation into the education and bringing-up of youth. And certainly if this were properly attended to, they would need no instruction from us in political economy and jurisprudence; since they would bring to the consideration of those subjects minds more enlarged, and feelings more exalted, than those who, like us, have not had the advantages of the best moral instruction and example.

The Oxonian.—Moral education is not much thought of at Oxford. I shall, however, always revisit it with delight, from the pleasing recollection of my classical readings enjoyed so frequently in the libraries and gardens of the college, where

* “ We are daily and hourly *conscious* of disinterested benevolence or sympathy, or of wishing the good of others without regard to our own. In the present wretched condition of human society, so unfavourable are the outward circumstances wherein most men are placed, and so bad is the education or training received by most men in their youth, that the benevolence of most men wants the intensity and endurance which are requisite to their own happiness, and to the happiness of their fellow-creatures.”—*The Province of Jurisprudence determined.* By John Austin, Esq.

I should be well inclined to spend many many more years. Such a luxury is a great temptation for men of literary taste to prepare for the Church, as the clerical profession requires less arduous study than that of the law, affords more leisure, and its duties may be deferred to the most convenient season.

Bertrand.—But surely that life cannot be consistent with sound morality, which is spent in the luxury of literary retirement, and without any effort for the good of the community!

The Oxonian.—Having dismissed the Professions, I hope you are not about to excommunicate the Classics, so redolent of every ennobling sentiment, and of so many stirring emotions.

Bertrand.—Think you that it was in consequence of any selfish enjoyment of Virgil, that all the people rose when he entered the theatre?—It was because he had devoted his retirement to the instruction of his fellow-citizens.

The Oxonian.—Well might they pay him such a tribute. I cannot repeat “*Arma virumque cano Trojæ qui primus ab oris*” without transporting myself in imagination to the scenes of ancient glory.

Bertrand.—Yet the Romans probably esteemed him quite as much for the *Georgics* as for the *Æneid*. Be that as it may, deeds which at that time were esteemed glorious, and, according to

the measure of knowledge then existing, really were so, must now be esteemed, if acted over again, the most inglorious. In order to give the best effect to classical learning, moral culture (which cannot be commenced too early,) and the strengthening of the judgement, should precede it; youth, enraptured with the self-devotion of the heroes of former days, and emulous of their renown, would ardently seek the path of true glory in an age further advanced in the science of moral truth.

The Oxonian.—Whence are the principles of liberty derived, but from the Grecian and Roman history? Surely the Classics are useful in stirring up men to the resistance of tyranny, and in asserting their political rights.

Bertrand.—How far we may be led away by high-sounding words, may be gathered from your own remarks on the slavery of the manufacturing class*. Do we find classical scholars more zealous than the rest of mankind to search out the causes

* The condition of the West Indian slave is seldom so distressing as that of the manufacturer,—as may be seen by the following examination.

“Did this long labour have any effect upon your health?—Yes: I was bad a long while.

“So ill as to have advice?—Yes, I was at home many weeks ill.

“What did the medical men say your illness was owing to?—It was the long hours; and I was to give up if I could; and

of their distress?—and yet to place them and their children beyond the reach of such terrible inflictions would release them from a yoke of the most oppressive slavery, and would be justly deemed a glorious achievement.

The Oxonian.—It is a difficulty perplexing to the greatest minds; and it no doubt would be removed if the means were understood.

Bertrand.—It is a difficulty to those only who

I did give up when I was at home, but I began again when I went back.

“But you had no option; you were obliged to keep those hours?—Yes, I can give you a reason; I had a partner, and we had been going these long hours, perhaps, for seven months; and my partner said, ‘I am so ill, I cannot abide to stand at this gig any longer.’ I said, ‘You had better ask the over-looker;’ and he went to the superintendant over-looker, and came down again; and he told him if he could not stand that work, he might go where he could find a shop that worked less hours. He had not been five minutes away before he fell into the gait of the gig: I then threw the machinery out immediately, and picked him up.

“Or else his life would have been gone?—His arm fell in, and his head might have been dragged in.

“Supposing that you, or the individual to whom you have been alluding, had applied to the parish, stating that he was obliged to ask relief, as he could not stand his work, Would the parish relieve him if he had left his employment?—No, he would have a note to take from the parish to his master, to know if he had any work; and if he had got a note from his master, saying he could not or would not stand the long hours, he would not have any relief; he would have been told he was too idle to work.”—*Evidence of William Swithenbank before the Committee of the Factories Bill.*

refuse to examine the foundations of our anti-social and anti-Christian fabric; but the hope of improvement must be looked for in the rising generation. If a right education is given to them, they will be much better qualified than their progenitors to legislate upon principles of justice and humanity.

The Friend.—While you were conversing upon the utility of Greek and Latin, I have been reflecting how little those languages have engaged the attention of our Society; and yet no other religious body has had so many members similar in character to Fox, Clarkson, Gurney, and William Allen.

Bertrand.—Certainly not one has had so large a proportion;—and then look to the extraordinary success of Mrs. Fry.

The Oxonian.—Much doubt has been expressed of the utility of Mrs. Fry's efforts, so many of the female prisoners having relapsed into their former vicious courses.

Bertrand.—That is the fault of those who neglect to second her benevolence, by placing them in suitable situations when they leave the prison. But whether all or a part only are reclaimed, a far more important good is effected by the proof she has given, that kind treatment can subdue even the most obdurate and abandoned.

The Oxonian.—I wish Mrs. Fry would take in

hand some of the overseers in the cotton mills, or the avaricious masters, whose deeds are recorded in the Report on the Factory Bill, from which so much has been selected by the daily papers. Of all the horrible accounts of cruelty to children I have ever read, this is the most atrocious : I trust that Parliament will interfere.

Bertrand.—I hope so too ; but until “competition” is superseded by a better principle, they may pass Acts of Parliament without end, for similar evils will appear in other quarters. The cause has been announced to them for years. And as to abusing the masters,—they must either have their work done at the lowest rate possible, or suspend their mills: the urgent supplication of the parents for employment for their children, under any circumstances, and the necessity of many masters to go forward to escape ruin, has rendered scenes of suffering and wretchedness familiar to them, which some years since they would have shuddered at beholding.

Upon arriving at Birmingham, Vela expressed a desire to see a copy of the Report of the Committee on the Factory Bill, which Bertrand was unable to procure; but he was informed that a copy could most probably be seen at the rooms of the Philosophical Society at Manchester.—They remained here for a few days, and had interviews with some of the more moderate members of the

Political Union, and who were much occupied in the currency question, a favourite mode of relief with Mr. Attwood. Vela was not interested in the subject, as he found it difficult to comprehend, being altogether unaccustomed to such inquiries; nor is it wonderful that it should be perplexing to him, since so many who have been long used to similar subjects find it too intricate.—They visited most of the large manufactories; and Vela was astonished at the power and beautiful execution of the machinery; but he could not help deeply commiserating the excessive toil and disagreeable employment of the people. One scene in particular drew his attention: A whole family, father, mother, brothers, and sisters, in all twelve persons, were occupied, almost in a state of nudity, at a furnace of intense heat in a confined place. The symptoms of oppression which their persons exhibited was painful and revolting. Upon inquiry he ascertained that this was no uncommon case of that kind of distressing work.

From Birmingham they proceeded to Manchester, where they sojourned many days, making frequent excursions in the vicinity; and it was not unusual for them to loiter near a mill about the hour of dinner, to see the men, women, and children come out. These scenes astonished Vela more than all that he had heard or seen since his arrival in England. Hundreds of children, pale,

sickly, and decrepid,—the parents feeble and emaciated,—a beautiful country disfigured by clouds of smoke,—vegetation checked, and all the towns and villages in a constant bustle, noise, and confusion.—“The papers of last week reported,” said Vela one day (while looking steadfastly upon a group of pale and wan-looking children just emerged from a mill,) “the trade of Manchester to be in a more healthy state.”—“They meant,” replied Bertrand, “that the commerce of the town was more steady, and less speculative and fluctuating.”—“Well,” observed Vela upon another occasion, “I think your country dearly purchases all its fame and glory; no paternal Government would covet extent of territory or wealth at the cost of so much pain and misery. Is it not known that these crowds of children are gifted with superior faculties, and that each could be made kind in disposition, as well as industrious, and highly intelligent? Yesterday I spoke to several, and found they could neither read nor write: indeed it is quite impossible they should have any time, for all were employed thirteen, and some more, hours in the day. They went to a Sunday school; but one of their mothers informed me that they were too much jaded and confined in the week-days to pay any attention when at school; and it was absolutely necessary that they should have as much fresh air as possible. The poor woman told me she

had lost two children; a daughter, whose clothes were caught in one of the wheels, which carried her round two or three times, breaking both her legs and an arm; and a son, who was one of the nine boys precipitated down a coal-shaft ninety yards in depth, in consequence of the chain being displaced: all were killed; but one, however, survived a short time only."

One morning Bertrand had engaged to visit a friend a few miles from Manchester; and before he set out he introduced Vela to the Reading-room of the Philosophical Society, where he found the Report on the Factory Bill.—On his return he found his Peruvian friend still reading; but with his face flushed, as if he had been extremely intent upon the subject. Vela looked up on his entrance, and addressed him in a hurried manner.

Vela.—Charles, I am glad you have returned, for I have been much perplexed with the opinions in a work which is now before me, and the leaves of which I ventured to cut:—But first I must tell you that I read the Report on the Factory Bill, until I was so agitated with its detail of remorseless cruelties, that I got up and walked about the room in such a state of excitement, that,—until two gentlemen who were present, and appeared to be interrupted in their reading, asked me if I was indisposed,—I was unconscious of what I was doing: I apologized, and resumed my seat.

Bertrand.—Excepting one extract in the newspaper, I have not read any of the evidence.

Vela.—I have marked several passages, and I will read you some of them.

WILLIAM COOPER, *called in and examined.*

What is your business?—I follow the cloth-dressing at present.

What is your age?—I was 28 last February.

When did you first begin to work in mills or factories?

—When I was about 10 years of age.

With whom did you first work?—At Mr. Benyon's flax-mills, in Meadow-lane, Leeds.

What were your usual hours of working?—We began at 5 o'clock, and gave over at 9 o'clock; at 5 o'clock in the morning.

And you gave over at 9 o'clock?—At 9 at night.

At what distance might you have lived from the mill?

—About a mile and a half.

At what time had you to get up in the morning to attend to your labour?—I had to be up soon after 4 o'clock.

Every morning?—Every morning.

What intermissions had you for meals?—When we began at 5 in the morning, we went on until noon, and then we had 40 minutes for dinner.

Had you no time for breakfast?—No, we got it as we could, while we were working.

Had you any time for an afternoon refreshment, or what is called in Yorkshire your "drinking"?—

No; when we began at noon, we went on till night; there was only one stoppage—the 40 minutes for dinner.

Then, as you had to get your breakfast, and what is called "drinking," in that manner, you had to

put it on one side?—Yes, we had to put it on one side; and when we got our frames doffed, we ate two or three mouthfuls, and then put it by again. Is there not considerable dust in a flax-mill?—A flax-mill is very dusty indeed.

Was not your food therefore frequently spoiled?—Yes, at times with the dust: sometimes we could not eat it, when it had got a lot of dust on.

What were you when you were 10 years old?—What is called a bobbin-doffer—when the frames are quite full we have to doff them.

Then, as you lived so far from home, you took your dinner to the mill?—We took all our meals with us, living so far off.

During the 40 minutes which you were allowed for dinner, had you ever to employ that time, in your turn, in cleaning the machinery?—At times we had to stop to clean the machinery, and then we got our dinner as well as we could; they paid us for that.

At those times you had no resting at all?—No.

How much had you for cleaning the machinery?—I cannot exactly say what they gave us, as I never took any notice of it.

Did you ever work even later than the time you have mentioned?—I cannot say that I worked later there; I had a sister who worked up-stairs, and she worked till 11 o'clock at night, in what they call the card-room.

At what time in the morning did she begin to work?—At the same time as myself.

And they kept her there till 11 o'clock at night?—Till 11 o'clock at night.

You say that your sister was in the card-room?—Yes.

Is not that a very dusty department?—Yes, very dusty indeed.

She had to be at the mill at 5 o'clock, and was kept at work till 11 o'clock at night?—Yes.

During the whole time she was there?—During the whole time; there was only 40 minutes allowed at dinner out of that.

To keep you at work for such a length of time, and especially towards the termination of such a day's labour as that, what means were taken to keep you awake and attentive?—They strapped us at times, when we were not quite ready to be doffing the frame when it was full.

Were you frequently strapped?—At times we were frequently strapped.

The rest of this evidence describes the effect upon his health.

Bertrand.—Does it mention the amount of his wages?

Vela.—Four shillings a week when a boy; afterwards he became a boiler, and had only four nights rest during the week, exclusive of Sunday: this excessive labour brought on an illness for six months; he was left weak, and his appetite gone; he could not cross the floor without a stick, and was in great pain in any posture. When he was somewhat recovered, he applied for work, but the overseer said he was not fit for it; and he was then obliged to throw himself on the parish.

Bertrand.—Gracious Heaven! and this a Christian country!

Vela.—What is the object for which these poor creatures are so reduced to slavery?

Bertrand.—Some of them to make silks and ribbons for the gratification of the pride and vanity produced by superfluous wealth, and defective education.

Vela.—All parties appear to be injured by this system; and the manufacturers and their overseers also must be demoralized.

Bertrand.—The manufacturers, perhaps, see little of the effects of the system, as they communicate with the overseers or chief managers, whose interest it is to produce as much profit as possible for their employers; and when competition is great, as at present, probably they are compelled to the most rigid economy to prevent even a loss.

Vela.—Besides vanity and pride, I perceive another cause intimately connected with them,—what some of your writers term ‘glory.’—Joshua Drake is asked when the extra hours at his mill commenced, and he replies “They first began about the time they got so many camp and navy orders.”

Bertrand.—So that while the people were killed abroad, their children were killed at home!—and for what end?

Vela.—Pray resolve me that, for I have been puzzling myself with that difficulty all the morning. I have heard that your people were loyal in preparing to resist the threatened invasion of

Napoleon; but I have not heard that his government anywhere was so regardless of the condition of the people.

Bertrand.—It is indeed difficult to discover in what respect the people at large, either in this or other European countries, have been benefited by his overthrow. The University of Warsaw has been lately annihilated by the Russians, who, before the dispersion of its members, so far restricted the Professors, that a censor was appointed to take notes during their lectures; thus preventing the promulgation of any opinions adverse to existing institutions:—the same rigorous measures have been lately introduced into the German Universities. Napoleon could not have been more tyrannical.

Vela.—You have fortunately a London University, where all subjects will undergo a free discussion.

Bertrand.—Not quite so free; for although it is unexclusive in favour of any religious sect, it is quite as exclusive in favour of a political sect.

Vela.—You mean the Political Economists?

Bertrand.—The same. They are found among the clergy and the lawyers; and their narrow views have defeated the grand objects sought by the majority of the proprietors: I question if they would permit any other system of political eco-

mony but their own to be taught; and yet its fallacy could be easily exposed.

Vela.—But do you not suppose that they desire the spread of education?

Bertrand.—Chiefly for the purpose of enabling the people to comprehend their own notions respecting free trade and French silks. While the ancient Universities of the land prohibit all teaching of the people that does not inform them that their present condition is ordained by Divine Providence, the London University assumes to itself the privilege of informing them that the present rules of production and distribution are founded in the laws of human nature, and that unless competition, with separate individual interests, prevail, all the arts and sciences must languish.—But have you marked any other passages in Report?

Vela.—Yes; here is one, in which an attempt is made to prevent the evidence of David Bywater.

You said that you was selected as a steamer by the overlooker on account of your being a stout and healthy boy?—Yes, he said he thought I was the strongest, and so I should go.

Were you perfect in your limbs when you undertook that long and excessive labour?—Yes, I was.

What effect did it produce upon you?—It brought a weakness on me; I felt my knees quite ache.

Had you pain in your limbs and all over your body ?
—Yes.

Show what effect it had upon your limbs.—It made me very crooked. [Here the witness showed his knees and legs.]

Are your thighs also bent ?—Yes, the bone is quite bent.

How long was it after you had to endure this long labour before your limbs felt in that way ?—I was very soon told of it, before I found it out myself.

What did they tell you ? —They told me I was getting very crooked in my knees ; my mother found it out first.

What did she say about it ?—She said I should kill myself with working that long time.

If you had refused to work those long hours, and have wished to have worked a moderate length of time only, should you have been retained in your situation ?—I should have had to go home ; I should have been turned off directly.

How long ago was that ?—It is two years since.

At that period would you not have found it very difficult to have got other employment ?—Yes ; I do not think I should have got other employment for a long time.

Were there not a great many individuals at Leeds out of employment at that time ?—Yes, there were.

Have you been sent for and required to come here to give evidence ?—Yes.

Have you received an intimation as to what will be the consequences of your having given evidence ?
—I was sent for to the White Swan, in Leeds, and when I got there they questioned me about what time I worked, and I told them, and they told me I was to stop there all night ; and the

next morning the overlooker sent my brother down, and when he came he said that I was to go back, or else both him and me were to be turned away; and when he went back the overlooker told him that if I came up to London, here I should never have any employment any more, nor my brother neither; but when he came at night the overlooker cooled over it, and he told him to be at work at good time in the morning, and he has told him since that I should not be employed any more. My brother said he could not help it; that it was not wrong in him: but I expect the first time he does a job which does not please, that he will turn him away directly, because if they work in a family, and one does wrong, they must all go.

Bertrand.—It is questionable whether the Poles who have been marched off to Siberia are used worse,—bodily deformity the consequence of employment! and destitution if a complaint is made!

Vela.—Here is another case of deformity in a poor woman.

ELIZA MARSHALL *examined.*

* * * * *

Did not you think that treatment very cruel?—I have cried many an hour in the factory.

You were exceedingly fatigued at night, were you not?—Yes, I could scarcely get home.

Had you to be carried home?—Yes, to be traileed home.

How were you waked in the morning?—The bell in Mill-street rang at half-past 5, and we got up by that.

That was not a pleasant sound to you?—No, it was not.

Was the fatigue gone off in the morning?—No, I was worse in the morning.

You thought the bell a very doleful sound?—Yes, it was a doleful sound to me.

* * * * *

Did this begin to affect your limbs?—Yes: when we worked over-hours I was worse by a great deal; I had stuff to rub my knees, and I used to rub my joints a quarter of an hour, and sometimes an hour or two.

Were you straight before that?—Yes, I was straight before that; my master knows that well enough; and when I have asked for my wages, he said that I could not run about as I had been used to do.

Did he drop your wages in consequence?—No, but he would not raise my wages, as I hoped he would; I asked—“Could not I mind my work?” and he said “Yes, but not so quick.”

Are you crooked now?—Yes, I have an iron on my right leg; my knee is contracted.

Was it not great misery for you to do your work?—Yes, it was.

You could hardly get up to your bed of a night sometimes, could you?—To speak the truth, my sister has carried me up many a time; she is larger than I am; I have gone on my hands and knees many a time.

Have you been to the Leeds Infirmary, to have, if possible, your limbs restored?—Yes, I was nearly 12 months an out-patient; and I rubbed my joints, and it did no good; and the last summer I went to the Relief, and that did me no good, and I was obliged to have a machine; and this last winter I have been in the Infirmary six weeks.

Under whom are you?—Mr. Charley.

They have put irons on your legs?—Yes, they cost 3/.

Have any of the surgeons in the Infirmary told you by what your deformity was occasioned?—Yes, one of them said it was by standing; the marrow is dried out of the bone, so that there is no natural strength in it.

You were quite straight till you had to labour so long in those mills?—Yes, I was as straight as any one.

You kept at your work as long as you possibly could, with a wish to assist in keeping your parent?—Yes, I had a step-father, and he was not willing to keep me, and I went as long as I could; at last I cried, and used to fall back in bed when they called me, so that they could not find it in their heart to send me.

* * * * *

State whether, when your mill has been shown, and when people have come to look at it, there has not been a great deal of preparation before it has been seen by a stranger? —Yes, there has.

Has there been a great deal done to make it appear clean and nice, and the children tidy?—Yes, a great deal.

Bertrand.—Well might they fear the intrusion of strangers: and now you can understand the motives that excluded us from the mills yesterday.

Vela.—I will read one more case, and have done with this melancholy subject.

WILLIAM HERBEN *examined.*

What has been the treatment which you have ob-

served that the children have received at the mills to keep them attentive for so many hours at such early ages?—They are generally cruelly treated; so cruelly treated that they dare not hardly for their lives be too late at their work in a morning. When I have been at the mills in the winter season when the children are at work in the evening, the very first thing they inquire is, “What o’clock is it?” If I should answer “Seven,” they say, “Only 7! it is a great while to 10, but we must not give up till 10 o’clock or past.” They look so anxious to know what o’clock it is that I am convinced the children are fatigued, and think that even at 7 they have worked too long. My heart has been ready to bleed for them when I have seen them so fatigued, for they appear in such a state of apathy and insensibility as really not to know whether they are doing their work or not: they usually throw a bunch of 10 or 12 cordings across the hand, and take one off at a time; but I have seen the bunch entirely finished, and they have attempted to take off another when they have not had a cording at all; they have been so fatigued as not to know whether they were at work or not.

Do they frequently fall into errors and mistakes in piecing when thus fatigued?—Yes; the errors they make when thus fatigued are, that instead of placing the cording in this way [*describing it*], they are apt to place them obliquely, and that causes a flying, which makes bad yarn; and when the billy-spinner sees that, he takes his strap or the billy-roller, and says “Close it, little devil, Close it,” and they smite the child with the strap or the billy-roller.

You have noticed this in the after part of the day

more particularly?—It is a very difficult thing to go into a mill in the latter part of the day, particularly in the winter, and not to hear some of the children crying for being beaten for this very fault.

How are they beaten?—That depends on the humanity of the nubber or billy-spinner; some have been beaten so violently that they have lost their lives in consequence of their being so beaten; and even a young girl has had the end of a billy-roller jammed through her cheek.

What is the billy-roller?—A heavy rod of from two to three yards long, and of two inches in diameter, and with an iron pivot at each end; it runs on the top of the cording over the feeding-cloth. I have seen them take the billy-roller and rap them on the head, making their heads crack, so that you might have heard the blow at the distance of 6 or 8 yards, in spite of the din and rolling of the machinery: many have been knocked down by the instrument. I knew a boy very well, of the name of Senior, with whom I went to school: he was struck with a billy-roller on the elbow; it occasioned a swelling, he was not able to work more than three or four weeks after the blow, and he died in consequence. There was a woman in Holmfirth who was beaten very much, I am not quite certain whether on the head, and she also lost her life in consequence of being beaten with a billy-roller.

Vela.—Can anything be more horrible! Surely these scenes are unknown to the influential part of society, or they would put an end to them!

Bertrand.—They are as unconscious of them,

unless when brought to light by publication in the newspapers, as the inhabitants of your happy Valley. The Queen will hold a drawing-room, and, with a sincere desire to relieve the working classes of this country, express her hope of seeing all her Court attired in dresses of British manufactures;—and you perceive what kind of benefit these poor creatures derive by such ill-informed benevolence! The changing tide of fashion is for ever rolling on, while its idle votaries compliment each other with the reflection, how good it is for trade*.

Vela.—What do you mean by fashion?

Bertrand.—The alteration in the style of dress, which varies in a slight degree every month or six weeks:—you have not been here long enough to observe it.

* “The state of the labouring class in the manufacturing parts of Yorkshire has been brought under the consideration of the House of Commons on several occasions by Mr. Fielden, one of the Members for Oldham; and the Honourable Gentleman, so late as Wednesday night last, in confirmation of his former statement, said, that out of a population of 200,000 in the division of Upper Agbrigg, there were 50,000 persons who did not receive more than $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ a day each for food and clothing. He added, that he made up his accounts on this subject, and he found that, including the relief which these 50,000 persons received from the parochial rates, they had only $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ a day each for food, raiment, and shelter. Now, in our paper of the present day, we have a letter from a gentleman in Huddersfield, the very centre of the division of which Mr. Fielden speaks, in which the writer, whom we know to be a man of

Vela.—I think it might now be changed for the better. But surely more durable attire would diminish the toil of these poor children; and less money being spent in dress, the rich would have more to spend in the education of these children.

Bertrand.—They would smile if they heard your proposal: they have no idea of spending money but upon themselves and their establishments.

Vela.—The more I hear, the more am I perplexed. But I wish to direct your attention to a paragraph from the book I referred to before the Report was read.

“Without *capital*, and the arts which depend upon capital, the reward of labour would be far scantier than it is; and capital, with the arts which depend upon it, are creatures of the institution of property. The institution is good for the many as well as

character, extensively connected with the trade of the district, says that ‘trade is very brisk at Huddersfield, that there never were so few goods in the market to sell as at present, and that new houses and other buildings are rising up around them.’ Both these statements cannot possibly be correct: we will not undertake to pronounce upon their relative veracity, but if Mr. Fielden will put the matter in a tangible form, by publishing the data on which his statement is grounded, we are persuaded that an investigation will take place on the spot, by which the truth will be elicited, both for the satisfaction of the country, and for the information of parliament.”—*Leeds Mercury*. Copied in *The Times*, March 13, 1833.

The Editor is mistaken. Both statements are most probably correct;—trade has been increasing for many years past, while the wages of labour were declining.

for the few. The poor are not stripped by it of the produce of their labour; but it gives them a part in the enjoyment of wealth which it calls into being. In effect, though not in law, the labourers are co-proprietors with the capitalists who hire their labour. The reward which they get for their labour is principally drawn from *capital*; and they are not less interested than the legal owners in protecting the fund from invasion.

"It is certainly to be wished that their reward were greater, and that they were relieved from the incessant drudgery to which they are now condemned. But the condition of the working-people (whether their wages shall be high or low, their labour moderate or extreme,) depends upon their own will, and not upon the will of the rich. In the *true principle of population*, detected by the sagacity of Mr. Malthus, they must look for the cause and the remedy for their penury and excessive toil. There they may find the means which would give them comparative affluence; which would raise them to personal dignity and political influence, from grovelling and sordid subjection to the arbitrary rule of a few."

Bertrand.—From some work on political œconomy?

Vela.—No; it is entitled "The Province of Jurisprudence determined; by John Austin, Esq., Barrister at Law," one of the Law Professors of the London University; and it appears to comprise his lectures delivered there.—What is meant by capital?

Bertrand.—Capital is the laid-up and uncon-

sumable stock,—all the tools, machinery, ships, houses; in short, everything that can be again employed to facilitate production : even food and clothing not immediately required for consumption is capital.

Vela.—But how can it be said that the institution of private property alone promotes accumulation? In our Valley the stores are always full for the supply of several years in advance, and we could create much more if really necessary; but we employ our leisure time in intellectual improvement, in music, in gardening—more particularly in education, in which all participate with extreme delight; and if we had your science and machinery, our leisure time would be more ample.

Bertrand.—The reward of the labourer and his personal dignity will never be greater if he listens to the counsel of the sagacious Mr. Malthus. There is not one of the heart-rending cases of misery you have been reading, the cause of which is not to be traced to his doctrines, the predominance of which prolonged the sufferings of the people for many years after relief was proffered.

Vela.—Did you not inform me that the Lord Chancellor took an active part in the London University?

Bertrand.—Yes, but he perhaps is infected with the Malthusian theory. Lord Brougham has too

much philosophy to be great as a lawyer, and too much law to be profound in philosophy. The same observation will, perhaps, apply to all lawyers who are political economists; and the consequence is, such a mixture and confusion in their minds of conventional law and abstract truths, that they are perpetually confounding their readers with an alternation of sound and fallacious reasoning. A philosophical work seldom proceeds from a lawyer of modern days; and when it does, it is generally prolix and unintelligible, “disturbing,” as a judicial character used to say of a counsel’s redundancy of speech, “the order of my thoughts.”—The medical profession, on the contrary, have frequently published the most able philosophical works,—not immediately connected with their studies, which, being confined to Nature, have not preoccupied their minds with local opinions and interests. Not so the study of the law, which almost always contracts the mind, and disqualifies it for general views—more so now that the laws have become more numerous, intricate, and bewildering.

Vela.—That remark reminds me of another passage in this book:—

“Laws proper or properly so called, are commands: laws which are not commands, are laws improper or improperly so called. Laws properly so called, with laws improperly so called, may be aptly di-

vided into the four following kinds. 1. The divine laws, or the laws of God: that is to say, the laws which are set by God to his human creatures. 2. Positive laws: that is to say, laws which are simply and strictly so called, and which form the appropriate matter of general and particular jurisprudence. 3. Positive morality, rules of positive morality, or positive moral rules. 4. Laws metaphorical or figurative, or merely metaphorical or figurative."

"The divine laws and—

Bertrand.—Hold, my friend, I can hear no more; I am sure I shall never be able to explain it.

Vela.—I can assure you that reading the painful details in the Report, and this difficult book, has occasioned me a severe head-ache. In the last I should not have persevered, had I not observed that it was connected with the London University. I cannot understand this division of laws proper and improper: in our Valley the youth are trained to enjoy the pleasure of assisting others; and if other communities should be formed, the same rule of conduct which unites individuals will unite societies; and the religion of your country—or rather the New Testament, for your country has no religion—enjoins the same principle.

Bertrand.—Of course you are regulated by the simple principle of moral justice, and so should we, if these clerical and legal political economists

did not continue—unintentionally, no doubt—to confound the rules of right and wrong,—making conventional laws not only at variance with, but paramount to, the laws of Nature and of God. Great would be the blessing to mankind if all the works on Jurisprudence, from Justinian's Pandects downwards, and all the angry controversies regarding doctrines “and the letter that killeth,” were thrown into the sea and forgotten: for if education and the laws, undisturbed by the profound theologian or the learned civilian, were regulated in a spirit accordant with the moral precepts of the Gospel, men would be trained from infancy to love one another; and intelligence, virtue, and happiness finally yet speedily prevail.

Vela.—Most certainly; unless the power of love, so emphatically and beautifully set forth in your Gospel, is exaggerated; and I can bear testimony to its potency from the long experience of our community. And besides, this book appears to suppose that there is one law for the individual, and another for society;—that you cannot, by a system of superior education and improved institutions, secure a preference for a virtuous course, or—that commands are necessary to enforce obedience to that which is in itself the most delightful.—I begin to perceive now the force of your remark as to the tendency of professional education to incapacitate for general views.

Bertrand.—The author understands not law and morality as sciences, or he would discover that they were one and the same; or at least that they never could contradict each other.—But now let us leave the Work; and tomorrow, if your letters will permit, we will proceed on our journey.

CHAPTER VIII.

“ See yonder poor, o’erlabour’d wight,
So abject, mean, and vile,
Who begs a brother of the earth
To give him leave to toil ;
And see his lordly *fellow-worm*
The poor petition spurn,
Unmindful, though a weeping wife
And helpless offspring mourn.”—BURNS.

WHILE Bertrand and his friend Vela were visiting the manufacturing districts, Lord Hampden had received an invitation to accompany a member of the House of Peers to Matlock ; and as I was in correspondence with Charles, he requested me to apprise him of the circumstance, and to say he should be happy to meet them there, if Matlock lay in their route. This communication induced Charles to vary his plan, as they had intended going direct from Liverpool to Leeds ; and they accordingly arrived at Matlock about a week after Lord Hampden had reached that place. It was late when they alighted at the hotel, and upon inquiry they learnt that Lord Hampden was gone on a visit for a few days to Chatsworth, but was expected to return in the morning, having left orders to be informed if his friends should

come to Matlock previously. He rode into town early in the day, and very soon after proposed a walk,—in the course of which the following conversation took place.

Lord Hampden.—I am curious to hear your opinion of our manufactures, which are said to have made England the envy of the world and a terror to surrounding nations.

Vela.—England, my lord, will soon become a terror to herself, and already exhibits signs of distress too alarming for her to become the envy of other nations.

Lord Hampden.—But you must have been gratified in seeing the ingenuity of the works, and the perfection of our manufactures.

Vela.—I was highly pleased with them: but there are those in our Valley who, being more particularly interested in mechanics, would have inspected them more minutely. The object of this my first visit has been to observe the physical and moral condition of the people,—an inquiry more suited to my favourite studies; but I hope to return the following year, and devote more time to the examination of your scientific improvements.

Bertrand.—Of the moral condition of the people we had a melancholy specimen last evening. Having heard that there had been some disturbance in the town of N——, about fifteen miles from hence, we travelled so far yesterday morning,

resolving to come on here in the evening. It appears that about a month since there had been a general strike, by the work-people of the silk and cotton spinning mills in that town and the neighbouring villages, in consequence of the masters proposing a reduction of wages. Considerable orders from the merchants at Liverpool had been received soon after the strike, but at very low prices. Rather than yield, some of the masters had engaged a number of hands unaccustomed to the work, along with a few who had not joined in the turn-out. This occasioned much trouble to the overseers and managers, whose tempers were irritated by the awkwardness of the new hands, parents as well as children, and by the impatience with which the execution of the orders was urged. The day before yesterday there had been some rioting ; one man was killed, and several severely wounded. They had been so long out of work that they were reduced to great want ; and although the children were at first delighted with their liberty, they at length began to feel the effect of hunger. No relief under their circumstances could be obtained from the parishes ; and that health to which freedom and fresh air had begun to restore them, was again departing, from another cause. As we entered the town, numerous groups of men, with scowling and fierce countenances, were standing at

the corners of streets and near the public houses, muttering revenge. Towards evening we had strolled to some mills in the outskirts of the town; the sun was sinking amid an assemblage of clouds that contributed greatly to the splendour of his departure, and the country, upon that side from which the smoke was wafted, was highly picturesque. While we were admiring the lovely scene, the doors of a mill were thrown open, and out came a great number of children and a few men and women. The children, instead of leaping with delight, like so many merry-faced boys and girls broke loose from school, crawled home, pale and emaciated, as speedily as their jaded limbs would permit. Our attention was particularly drawn to a boy about eight years old, crying and apparently in much pain; he was led by a girl somewhat older, who said that he had fallen asleep in the mill, and through fatigue had tumbled from his stool and hurt his hip. We accompanied them to their home in the next street,—and such a scene of destitution and wretchedness I have rarely witnessed. There were scarcely any articles of furniture in the house; the mother informed us they had been obliged to pawn most of their things in order to obtain money to purchase food; that her husband, who was ill in bed, had been induced to join in the turn-out, partly by the threats of his fellow-

workmen, and partly from his own choice : he had, however, since learned that the prices of cotton were so low, that the mills must be closed unless the work was performed at very reduced wages ;—that her husband and herself would have returned to work, but he was taken ill, and she was obliged to remain at home to nurse him. She gave the overseer an excellent character for humanity, but added that he was compelled to be strict in his discipline, or he would lose his situation. The whole village resembled a pandemonium, or something worse ; for in addition to the fierce and angry feelings of revenge that generally prevailed, there was sickness, poverty, and contention even among themselves.

Vela.—Allow me now to describe to his lordship the concluding scene of yesterday.—Upon returning to our inn, we ordered a chaise to come on to Matlock. The night was not dark, the stars were partially hidden by clouds, and the moon, nearly at its full, was soon to appear above the horizon. We had travelled about an hour, when a vista formed by the separation of an immense rock disclosed one of the most enchanting sights I ever beheld. At the foot of a mountain clothed with wood appeared a gorgeous palace blazing with light, which, reflected by the burnished gold of the window-frames, seemed to realize the most vivid descriptions of oriental

magnificence. About a mile onwards we came very near to the palace, and upon stopping the chaise, music was heard: we alighted at a gate which opened upon a path leading across a field in the direction of the palace; we could then hear the music more distinctly, and although not sufficiently clear to distinguish the tune, the melody was most delightful, more especially being accompanied by such a fairy scene.

Lord Hampden.—You have been describing no other place than Chatsworth; and I can assure you that had you viewed it internally, you would have found a magnificence fully corresponding with the promise of the exterior. There was a grand concert; some of the finest compositions of Mozart were played, and I seldom recollect to have witnessed a finer effect than was displayed in the superb decorations of the rooms and the general elegance of the assemblage. All was calculated to make one forget the misery abroad; even the frivolity, selfishness, and pride of many, appeared to be subdued by the elevating character of the music, and the refinement and dignity of the company: there was nothing to desire but a conviction that all present felt the strong affinity between moral excellence and the harmony of the scene.

Vela.—Perhaps such was the case. But the description you have given is almost heavenly, while the scene witnessed by us resembled the infer-

nal regions, where every bad passion had broke loose.

Lord Hampden.—But the elegancies of high life have such a tendency to indispose the mind to investigate subjects demanding patient or laborious inquiry, that they contribute at present to increase selfish desires, and to contract the finest feelings: I must confess, that unless I kept up an intercourse with other classes of society, I should be liable to fall into similar forgetfulness, from the fascinating thralldom of these enjoyments.

Vela.—Are your aristocracy wanting in humanity?

Lord Hampden.—By no means, when cases are brought before them; but from an impression that excessive toil and misery must be the portion of the great majority of mankind, they consider that their duties are discharged by relieving such as fall in their way. Nay, there are some who are conscious of the errors of the present system, although they have no clear views regarding a better. On the day I went to Chatsworth, intelligence of the riot you have mentioned arrived: at dinner it became the subject of general conversation;—some were for calling out the military, others for conciliatory measures; one said that he would plant a cannon at the head of the street, and soon mow down the rioters. This sentiment appeared to fill many with

horror ; and one young man in particular, a son of Earl G——, who appeared to be more surprised than any, was about to reply, when the conversation suddenly taking another turn, he was prevented. In my walk through the grounds on the following morning, I found this youth reading near one of the most sequestered fountains: I was too near him to pass without speaking; and as his manner indicated a desire to converse, I stopped to answer his inquiry if I had heard anything more regarding the riot. I replied, that I had not. “There is nothing,” said he, “to disturb the enjoyment of this beautiful scene before us but reports of the painful conflicts between members of the same community.” I asked him if he was not aware that there were tens of thousands enduring the ills of poverty and wretchedness in silence. “Doubtless there are,” said he ; “and would that it could be otherwise ! Happy would it be for us all, if some of the dreams of Poetry could be realized, and universal sympathy prevail ; but, alas ! that is impossible.”—“It will be impossible,” I replied, “even to make it more general, much less universal, until the proper means are employed.”—“I should be obliged by your explaining,” said he, “some practical steps by which those principles you publicly advocate can be rendered useful. . . . But I see my two sisters approaching at

a distance, and unless your measures include an improved education for women, they will not please the eldest, Lady M——.”

We dropped the subject until the ladies came up. The eldest was married to a lord much inferior in talent to herself; he was, however, unconscious of his inferiority, but extremely tenacious of his authority, to which his lady submitted with tolerable patience, notwithstanding her advocacy of a more just equality of rights between the sexes of the rising generation. When they had come up, the young man introduced me to the ladies, adding, that I was about to explain a part of my plan for removing the inequalities of society. “I should,” replied I, “prefer hearing the opinion of Lady M——, premising that my first step would be the adoption of an improved system of education.”—“There we agree,” said Lady M——; “but whether we shall be equally cordial as to what constitutes the best system of education is another question: my best system is one in which boys and girls should not only be instructed in the same subjects, but educated together.”—“But would you not,” observed the brother, “make women too masculine, and men too effeminate?”—“Far otherwise,” replied Lady M——; “men would acquire greater sensibility without any diminution in strength of character, and women would lose none of their mildness and

real delicacy when combined with mental vigour: besides," she continued, "why have women capacities for the mathematics, for natural philosophy, for every species of knowledge that can ennoble our nature, if they are to remain uncultivated? Who have the care of infants?—Women. Are not the earliest years the most important for the formation of the mind and disposition, and are not children at this period under the exclusive management of women? Is not therefore the study of anatomy, physiology, and of mental philosophy, necessary for their qualifications in aiding the development of the physical, moral, and intellectual faculties?"—"I must confess," replied the brother, "there is something interesting in the dependence of the woman and the protection of the man alike calculated to strengthen mutual affection."—"Far more exalted and more pure," said Lady M——, "would be that affection, were there a full participation in mental acquirements; far more intimate the union, where thought meets thought and mutual aid prevails. Besides, brother, it is necessary to dwarf the faculties, to deny them that legitimate culture of which they are susceptible, in order to keep down woman to your standard of sufficient improvement. Then as to the dependence of woman upon the intellect of man, he has so much to occupy him in improving the rising generation,

that he requires all the more important competency of woman to assist him in the 'delightful task.' In perpetuating the weakness of woman, you rob children of the better half of their required superintendence; and you still further diminish the efficacy of the other half, by imposing additional labour upon it in the protection demanded of men from the feebleness of woman."

Bertrand.—These were bold sentiments for a lady of rank to utter.

Lord Hampden.—And such as she would not have expressed before the assembled company at Chatsworth. She was well acquainted with my opinions; but I apprehend the younger sister was not, or else she was too timid to follow Lady M—— in her speculations, for I observed she took a seat beside her brother as the former became more animated.

Vela.—What reply could the brother make to these observations?

Lord Hampden.—He asked if women were to become judges, physicians, bishops, and legislators. "With regard to the first and second professions," said Lady M——, "I should make the same reply as Plato, who, when he was asked by what signs a traveller might know, immediately on his arrival in any city, that education is neglected, 'If he finds that physicians and judges

are necessary.' As to bishops, have the Society of Friends any clergy? Until women have a voice in legislation, it will never be carried on with sufficient sympathy towards all whom it may concern. Education would render mere professional duties unnecessary, and reduce legislation itself to the clearness and simplicity of the sciences."—"But," rejoined the brother, "would you make us all educators?"

"If the perfection of education is attained through the medium of example rather than by precept, why not?"*

Then addressing himself to me, he said, "I am at a loss to know how buildings are to be erected, and agriculture to be carried on, if all are engaged in the work of education."

I replied, "Education and employment ought to be inseparable. Erecting elegant habitations would employ a very small portion of the life of each individual; in the process, many arts and sciences are practically learnt, and more especially as improved machinery would be employed; agriculture, which is only another name for gardening, embraces of course a still wider field of inquiry in the various branches of natural philosophy."

"Why," said Lady M——, (addressing her brother,) "do you seek this solitude?"

* See Appendix K.

“Because,” replied he, “I found few of congenial mind in the party at the house.”

“Should you not, then, desire to see this enchanting spot peopled by beings possessing minds attuned in harmony with the scene?”—“It would,” rejoined the brother, “make it a real paradise.”

“Such reality,” observed Lady M——, “will spring from education.”

Bertrand.—Was any impression made upon the brother by this conversation?

Lord Hampden.—I think there was some good effect produced; for upon the following day the subject of the riot was again mentioned at dinner, and he was more prominent in urging the necessity of a better system of education.

Bertrand.—But did you not advocate your plans with the company at large?

Lord Hampden.—You might as well harangue the winds and the waves. The few who devote themselves to literary pursuits and travel are generally superficial classical scholars; if they avoid society, it is to indulge in critical studies; if they mingle with the world, it is to display their erudition and the accuracy of their observations,—this is evident in the sensitive quickness with which they resent an assertion implying the slightest doubt of their correctness. At all times curious in hunting after novelties, they can tell of all that they found of the curious and rare in

travelling over the Continent. *Est natura hominum novitatis avida*. To be ignorant of any peculiarity is what they could not endure, and proportioned to the fear of ignorance is the pride of acquisition. Demand of them the causes of such peculiarities, and you exceed the bounds of their inquiries. Destitute of the spirit of philosophical investigation, their minds are too much encumbered in retaining facts, for any activity or reflection. Neglecting the rule of Pliny,—of studying *non multa sed multum*,—their stores of knowledge are ample*. From the wide range of their historical reading, ancient and modern, they deem themselves competent to decide *ex cathedra* upon every question brought before the public; and if the judicious use of their materials were at all commensurate with their extent, such pretensions would be well founded. Unmindful of the remark of St. Evremond, “Life is too short to read all sorts of books, and to burden one’s memory with a multitude of things at the expense of one’s judgement,” they hesitate not superciliously to condemn the decisions of those who have devoted their talents, their fortunes, and their lives to the pursuits of science. Such domination is the more to be lamented, as this portion of the aristocracy give the tone of thinking to their body.

* Hobbes used to say, that if he had read as much as others, he should have been as ignorant as they.

Vela.—In discussing the general condition of society, you could scarcely avoid altogether the principles which you, I presume, as well as my friend Charles, advocate.

Lord Hampden.—They were sometimes noticed in reference to the Republic of Plato, as a poetical vision. But one evening I was much amused by a dialogue between one of the literati (who has recently published a volume of Odes and Sonnets) and Lady M——; the latter, however, was not aware that she was addressing an author, much less one of fastidious refinement. He had expressed his decided objection to ladies being educated in any other manner than that at present in vogue, which contributed so much to their exquisite delicacy, and preserved them from the contagion of coarseness and vulgarity. Lady M—— saw something of his character, and seemed determined, if possible, to rouse him to a sense of the narrowness of his views. “I have known some critics,” said Lady M——, “who have been so long conversant about mental operations, that they have almost fallen into a disbelief of their own corporeal existence*. These ethereal spirits

* “Does Mr. Newton eat, drink, or sleep like other men?” observed the Marquis de l’Hôpital, one of the greatest mathematicians of the age, to the English who visited him. “I represent him to myself as a celestial genius entirely disengaged from matter.”

can scarcely endure the idea of anything that is derogatory to their intellectual dignity ; but whatever outward appearances may indicate, I have seen some—and those poets, too, of no mean attainments—who could give as palpable proof of the cravings of corporeal appetite as the most argumentative and sturdy prose writers.”

“We cannot,” said the poet, “have *mens sana* except *in corpore sano*:—but do not drive our fair ladies to field and garden employments while filagree work and painting yield more delicate amusement.”

“Can you,” rejoined Lady M——, “imagine that there is anything more exquisitely curious and beautiful than the works of Nature? Is it to be for ever our destiny

‘To gild refined gold, to paint the lily,
To throw a perfume o’er the violet,
To smooth the ice, or add another line
Unto the rainbow, or with taper light
To seek the beauteous eye of heaven to garnish?’”

“Lady M——,” said the literary man, turning to me, “is a disciple of yours; she would restrain the flights of fancy, depress genius, and leave no scope for the exercise of the imagination.”—“That,” said I, “is no philosophy of mine; nor do I believe that Lady M—— would acknowledge it.”

At this moment our group was joined by a gentleman whom I had observed as a listener

to the remarks upon Plato. "An argument has occurred to me," said he, (addressing himself to Lady M——,) "in favour of separate individual establishments,—whether it is not a fact, that those who have been the best husbands and brothers have not also proved the best patriots?" "What is your inference?" replied Lady M——. "That distinct family arrangements are best calculated for the exercise both of the private as well as the more general affections." "I apprehend," rejoined Lady M——, "that it will be found that it is not because the affections are exercised in any particular manner that they become more general, but because they *are* exercised; for we may observe that whenever the affections are excited by any peculiar object, a more generous feeling is produced towards all others. With the unmarried and those who are allied uncongenially, the affections are apt to wither for want of exercise and from the indulgence of antipathy."

Bertrand.—That was an excellent reply: you could not have found much sympathy at Chatsworth.

Lord Hampden.—With the exception of Lady M——, there was scarcely one who agreed with me in opinion: but I could not help smiling at the different objections that were urged; for while some parties were declaring that it was impossible to make all men alike, others were disconcerted with the idea of producing a dull

uniformity and insipidity of character*. The latter attributed even more power to our principles than we contend for ; the former supposed that the general character of intelligence and benevolence could not admit a variety in good, without the admission of bad, qualities. I was somewhat annoyed by one of the champions of this opinion who brought phrenology to his aid.

Bertrand.—I have paid but little attention to that subject. I discover, however, a material difference in the opinions of its advocates ; some blending more general knowledge with the subject, and arguing therefore more philosophically.

Lord Hampden.—Such was not the character of this disputant. I admitted the diversity of tastes and propensities ; but I could not prevail upon him to concede the possibility of making all mankind, excepting idiots, benevolent and intelligent.

Bertrand.—You will find that difficulty with many, but not with all ; as the most able phrenologists admit that every faculty may be beneficially directed : for when they perceive, as in the instance of the cage of birds and animals at the Countess of E——'s, that it is in the power of education to subdue the very instincts and ferocities of animals, they cannot doubt that man, with his faculty of speech and his powers of

* See Appendix L.

reasoning, is susceptible of a more general and decided controul, and of superior guidance.

Lord Hampden.—The phrenologist was silenced by a noble lord of great wealth and importance, who, professing an ardent zeal for the interests of religion, declared, that if there was any truth in the science, Christianity must be abandoned, since responsibility and the inevitable natural tendency of character, were irreconcilable. This declaration, supported by an eminent physician denying the correctness of the conclusions of the phrenologist, and who when closely pressed acknowledged he had not examined their facts in consequence of a previous conviction of impossibility that the shape of the skull could accommodate itself to the action of the brain, silenced his argument.

Bertrand.—It seems to me most unjust for those who will not take the trouble of examining, unhesitatingly to condemn. When men of respectability and entitled to credit state that they have examined many thousand heads, and declare the results of their observations, I feel bound to believe them, or to investigate for myself.

Vela.—I observed in a window at Manchester a notice that the Petition to Parliament was lying there for signatures for the better observance of the Sabbath: was not that question decided in the spring?

Bertrand.—It was, for the last session; but it will probably be brought forward again.

Lord Hampden.—That is almost certain; but I hope it will share the same fate, unless a Bill differing materially from the last is introduced. —But tell me, Vela, how is the Sabbath observed in your country? I beg pardon; I had forgotten that a different religion prevails there.

Vela.—We have no day set apart for public worship, as our prayers are offered up each morning to the Supreme Being. We need no day of rest, since we have no toil. Our labours are light; and while cheerfully discharging our pleasant duties, we conceive that we are rendering acceptable service to the Deity. Every day is therefore a Sabbath, and every Sabbath a holiday.

Bertrand.—But in all countries it is absolutely necessary that the ordinances prescribed by the prevailing religion, should be conformed to.

Vela.—Doubtless the laws and regulations should be obeyed; but I have been particularly struck with the divisions of your regulations under the heads of Religion—Law—Political Economy; for all of which we have not even names: with us, everything is comprehended under one rule, that of seeking to promote the general happiness; we have no private property in land or in food, and disputes are prevented by

our plan of education, which is throughout benevolent. As for a day of rest, why should you subject your population to such an excess of toil as to require any? and more especially when aided by such vast scientific power! All the duties of life might be rendered pleasurable; and when the spirit of religion prevails, there is no employment that is not directed by benevolent feeling.

Bertrand.—Sir Andrew Agnew brings forward the Bill in compassion to the poor.

Lord Hampden.—He should extend his compassion a little further, and bring in a Bill to enable the poor to support themselves upon the land. I am tired of these compassionate Lilliputian legislators—these titled monopolists, who cause such wide-spread misery, and then compliment each other at sumptuous public dinners for their kind consideration of the starving poor, in returning, as a condescension and favour, a fraction of that which they possess unjustly.

Bertrand.—That, however, is not the character of Sir Andrew.

Lord Hampden.—Perhaps not: I meant no personal reflection, for he is quite unknown to me; but I cannot endure the fulsome cant about religious observance, with a total neglect of the wants of the poor. Ask Fitzosborne the relative numbers of those who assemble at Exeter Hall

to devise plans for supplying the poor with religious tracts, and with employment ;—at least twenty times as many attend the former meetings: and yet while the country is saturated with tracts, there is insufficient employment. Is not this giving a stone instead of bread? But with regard to the Sabbath, I will consent to no Bill that does not include strict provisions against its desecration by the rich. To see a noble family professing to be the followers of the humble Jesus, ostentatiously driven to church in splendid equipages; attended by servants dressed in flaring liveries; keeping their coachman and many of the servants from *Divine* service; afterwards dining extravagantly, when they know that thousands of their countrymen are in rags and starving,—is quite sufficient to determine me to oppose any measure which, under the pretence of—perhaps sincere, but ill-judged—compassion, may add to the already numerous privations of the lower classes.

Bertrand.—There is one clause in the Bill which appears to be particularly levelled at Owen, as he is the only individual I know of who delivers lectures, not connected with any particular faith, on a Sunday. It prohibits all meetings for the purpose of hearing lectures.

Vela.—Is there any objection to the delivery of moral lectures?

Lord Hampden.—Certainly, unless connected with Faith. The disciples of Confucius, and the devout Mussulman ; the believers in the incarnation of Veeshnu ; the Jew, who denies the authenticity of the New Testament ; the Sublapsarians and the Arminians ; the Mystics and Muggletonians,—not to omit the followers of Johanna Southcott, and a thousand sects besides,—are all permitted, as they ought to be permitted, to inculcate moral duties on a Sunday, in connexion with their particular creeds ; and their meetings are then considered as part and parcel of the law of the land : but if any parties assemble on that day, however peaceably, to examine into the laws of human nature, as developed in past history, or in the discoveries of modern times,—to advocate the principles of equity, and the endless advantages of cultivating benevolent feelings,—and if, unwilling to obtrude their own speculations on controversial subjects, they leave to each the undisturbed enjoyment of his own opinions,—such meetings are to be instantly dispersed.

Bertrand.—The people of England will never submit to such a restriction ; nor is it right they should.

Lord Hampden.—These petty and vain attempts at intolerance and persecution are not disadvantageous to the cause of truth.

Bertrand.—In many villages within twenty miles of London the people now play at cricket on a Sunday afternoon, in defiance of remonstrance.

Lord Hampden.—I lately heard of a clergyman in the West of England who actually played at cricket on a Sunday with the working classes among his parishioners, and by that means becoming more intimately acquainted with them, prevented the use of improper language, preserved harmony, and induced them to go regularly to church.

Vela.—I cannot see any impropriety in instructive amusement; but if the clergyman was to play at cricket with them on other days, he would probably have such influence over his parishioners as to induce them to attend to all their religious duties.

Lord Hampden.—It would be, however, far different to the conduct not only of the clergy, but of all who are raised above the labouring classes, to whom scarcely any sympathy is extended. As for the aristocracy generally, they have little apprehension of the storm that is gathering; and while they are obstinately tenacious of all their privileges, and unwilling to concede, they are only hastening their own downfall. Conceiving that to yield is to proclaim their fears, and give encouragement to further demands, they assume

the character of firmness. But, alas ! it is too late: the people know their power, and will use it*. They are to be won only by conciliatory overtures, which they are ever ready to acknow-

* " 'Tis not the facilitating of production which is here to blame, but the awkward, ignorant expedients of force and fraud, which capriciously regulate the distribution. The whole of the attention of political economists has been hitherto almost exclusively directed to the more cheap articles of production of wealth, the creation of new masses, particularly in large and glittering heaps. That real social science which inquires into the means of wealth and all other materials of happiness, in such a way as to produce the greatest quantity of happiness to all, is but of yesterday's birth. The industrious classes, whose happiness has been hitherto deemed scarce worthy of consideration, as either unattainable, or, if attainable, only at the expense of the happiness of the richer classes, whose voice has never been consulted in regulating their destinies, are now learning their own interests and their importance as rational beings: they will soon speak out; and thenceforward they alone will regulate human affairs, essentially *their* affairs. The idle will lose the support of public opinion, and as a class will cease to exist; industry will be stript of its present degrading accompaniments of fatigue, filth, and ignorance; industry will be rendered *attractive* by the new accompaniments of neatness, if not elegance, knowledge, pleasing society, security of enjoyment, variety of occupations, and abundant leisure, and will be everywhere and for ever held in honour. The present rich, and more particularly the present idle, will be raised in intelligence, virtue, in every species of physical and social enjoyment, by a union with *such* industrious classes: of no pleasures will they be deprived but those of antipathy and excess, which in their consequences are necessarily attended, even to themselves, as well as to others, with preponderant evils."—THOMPSON.

ledge:—what is extorted from fear, they regard as the right of conquest; what is given with cheerfulness, is received with gratitude. And still better would it be if the wants of the people were anticipated by their rulers, and the necessity of petitioning superseded altogether.

Bertrand.—The aristocracy are lulled into security by the increased splendour of those who, possessing property, are interested in upholding the established order of society. The metropolis was never so brilliant as in the last season; and the nobility could never persuade themselves, when observing such palpable indications of prosperity as the additional number of equipages which successful traders and manufacturers starting into fashion were bringing to their ranks, that the reports of depressed commerce could be true, or that there could be much poverty in the land.

Lord Hampden.—This increasing glare of ostentation among the few, and the increasing wretchedness among the many, render the antithesis every year the more striking to the country at large. The injustice of such a state of society arrests the attention of all excepting those hurried on in the vortex of fashion, or engrossed with the anxieties of business or of party. I have however seen sufficient of high life to be convinced that there is less happiness to be found in that

sphere than in any other class:—the frivolity, the dissipation, the ennui,—and, above all, the insincerity,—produce either a restless and feverish, or a cold and vapid existence. Their sympathies, contracted to a narrow circle, are imbibittered, even within that circle, by jealousy and envy of each other; while their exclusiveness militates against every feeling of generous and enlarged humanity. They regard the million as destined to minister to their wants and caprices, and even the dependants admitted to their tables have similar obsequious but more humiliating tasks to perform*.

Bertrand.—I had hoped for a moral reformation that would have prevented any rebellion; but difficulties accumulate, and the aristocracy

* “Here too we may see the reason why we are not ashamed of any of the methods of grandeur and high living. There is such a mixture of moral ideas, of benevolence, of abilities kindly employed; so many dependants supported, so many friends entertained, assisted, protected; such a capacity imagined for great and amiable actions, that we are never ashamed, but rather boast of such things. We never affect obscurity or concealment, but rather desire that our state and magnificence should be known. Were it not for this conjunction of moral ideas, no mortal could bear the drudgery of state, or abstain from laughing at those who did. Could any man be pleased with a company of statues surrounding his table, so artfully contrived as to consume his various courses, and inspired by some servant, like so many puppets, to give the usual trifling returns in praise of their fare? Or with so many machines to perform the cringes and whispers of a *levee*?”—HUTCHESON.

are so unconscious of their danger, or, if aware of it, so ignorant of the means of averting it, that I fear it will be impossible to escape a violent convulsion, which may leave us in as bad a condition; for who among the stirring spirits of the times have recognised the aggravating causes of the present disorder, or the true principles of society?

Lord Hampden.—If the proper remedy were brought forward, it would scarcely be appreciated by the people, for the rural population have not shared much in the advantages of education or of mechanics' institutions; and even in large towns and cities the members of the latter do not consist of porters or labourers, but apprentices, shopmen, and the more skilful artizans. The gin-shops in towns and the beer-shops in villages have contributed to ruin the morals and pervert the understandings of the people, who will therefore, in any revolution, be led away by the orator who can most successfully appeal to their prejudices and passions.

Bertrand.—I trust we are not destined to witness a renewal of the sanguinary scenes of the French revolution. You mention the beer-shops;—have you seen Miss Martineau's Work, entitled “The Parish,” in which the evils of the beer-shop are admirably exposed?

Lord Hampden.—I have read it with great

pleasure: it describes in strong but faithful colours the evils arising from the present administration of the poor laws; but until Miss Martineau and her patrons of the Useful Knowledge Society will undertake the advocacy of a better principle than that of competition in the supply of our wants, they will not diffuse the *most* useful knowledge. We are all conscious of existing error; and it is surely high time for this distinguished Society to point out the true remedies.

Bertrand.—Perhaps they also are ignorant of them.

Lord Hampden.—Then let them expose, as they are bound to do, the fallacy of the system of united interests, which cannot be neglected by the learned under pretence of its obscurity or the inability by which it has been advocated. We will not cease to remind them of Thompson's Work, for many of them belong to the school of Political Economy; and so long as they adhere to the principle of competition as the firmest basis of the social edifice, they will perpetuate and aggravate those evils which they are not backward to describe and condemn.

Bertrand.—They portray these effects forcibly, in the hope that their own remedies, such as a restricted population and free trade, may secure attention: we are at all events indebted to them

for promoting the cause of education and mechanics' institutions.

Lord Hampden.—Before we separate, I must mention to you a singular convert I made to the improved system of sympathetic education, in a once wealthy but now impoverished baronet. Born to a rich inheritance, he commenced even at College a career of sensual indulgence and profligacy: betting at horse-races and gambling in the metropolis soon stripped him of his entire fortune. He passed rapidly from one excess to another, until his health was undermined by dissipation, and he now lives upon the ample settlement of his wife, but still rioting in his debaucheries. It was in a morning drive about the domain at Chatsworth that he unexpectedly asked me to explain the plan of education which had been the subject of such general conversation. I looked at him earnestly for a moment, to ascertain if he was serious in his inquiry. “You seem surprised,” said he, “at the transition from pugilism to a subject so dissimilar; but remember I have sons.” After an endeavour at some length to prepare his mind for the reception of truths the most opposed to his previous opinions, I proceeded to show, that however we might at present differ as to the objects in which happiness consists, it was possible to create a public opinion so powerful in favour of a virtuous and felicitous

conduct, that all efficient means for its support would be universally promoted.—While I was proceeding he appeared to have forgotten his children, and by his ejaculations and manner it was obvious that many of my remarks awakened him to a sense of his own aberrations. “Well,” said he, “notwithstanding your fine eulogium upon spring water, I have been long accustomed to my bottle of port; and having formed the habit, it is not easily discarded.” “Admitted,” I replied; “but do you wish your sons to be brought up with the same relish for wine?” Never shall I forget the emphatic manner with which he exclaimed, “By Heavens! no; if the proposal was made to me at this moment, either to give them each one hundred thousand pounds with such an education as I received, or to send them into the world pennyless, and with sound moral instruction, I should prefer the latter.” “If,” I replied, “such are your real sentiments, you can no longer doubt the possibility of creating a universal desire for the moral improvement of the rising generation, or the means of effecting it.” “At all events,” said the baronet, “I should be most happy to see the experiment.”

CHAPTER IX.

“Though the light
 Of truth slow-dawning on the inquiring mind,
 At length unfolds, through many a subtle tie,
 How these uncouth disorders end at last
 In public evil ! yet benignant Heaven,
 Conscious how dim the dawn of truth appears
 To thousands ; conscious what a scanty pause
 From labours and from care the wider lot
 Of humble life affords for studious thought
 To scan the maze of Nature ; therefore stamp’d
 The glaring scenes with characters of scorn,
 As broad, as obvious to the passing clown,
 As to the letter’d sage’s curious eye.”—AKENSIDE.

MY health requiring a change of climate, I was advised to try the effect of a voyage to the Mediterranean, which was no sooner determined on, than, recollecting the numerous interesting objects abounding in that classical region, I speculated upon an extensive tour. A friend undertook to superintend the publication of these pages ; and I was preparing for my departure, when a letter from Lord Hampden invited me and Bertrand to visit him at his country seat, as he wished to communicate his motives for determining upon a course of considerable importance to his future happiness. Lord Hampden had

been married a few months, and found in Elizabeth all that he could wish for: if she did not enter fully into his more extended schemes of reform, she possessed a no less fervent desire to advance the happiness of her fellow-creatures; and their own neighbourhood soon felt the beneficial influence of their presence.

Lord Hampden and Henry Western were married to Elizabeth and Mary Bathurst on the same day, at their own village church, notwithstanding some regret mingled with more grateful recollections. Henry resides in that neighbourhood, chiefly that Mary and himself may watch over and improve the Infant School. Elizabeth, with the approbation of Lord Hampden, resigned her share of her father's property to her sister, which renders Mr. and Mrs. Western independent: Henry intends, however, in a short time to receive two or three pupils, to whom he will in part consign the superintendence of the Infant School, as an exercise of their better feelings.

Bertrand experienced so much disappointment in the contemplation of the loss of his friend Vela, who was about to pass over to Paris to meet one of his brothers recently arrived there from Madrid, that he had resolved to accompany him.

When Bertrand and myself arrived at Lord Hampden's seat, he and his Lady were absent for the day, and we spent our time in the library,

comparing notes of the progress that was making in a knowledge of the true principles of society ; we agreed that it was tardy and discouraging. Bertrand observed that it was the opinion of some, that it should be permitted to fall into apparent oblivion ; that as the difficulties of the country increased, there would be a greater recipiency for any subject connected with the amelioration of society, and a disposition more favourable to an unprejudiced investigation. It was quite evident that all other expedients presenting the remotest probability of relief, however slight, would be resorted to, before any fundamental changes would be permitted. Such were the deep-rooted prejudices of every sect and party, that the impediments in the way of conviction, except with a very limited number, rendered all our exertions of little avail.

At the same time there appeared to be among all classes a rapidly increasing conviction of the evils of the existing system, and of its inevitable decline. All were anticipating the near approach of an important crisis. The injustice of the great inequalities in the condition of mankind, which had for the last century been deplored by poets and philosophers, had now become obvious to the meanest capacities ; and as these were found among the million, who were the most afflicted sufferers, the remedy, it was thought by some

parties, would not be long delayed, if force could effect it.

We had both observed that a material alteration had taken place in our friend since his more intimate friendship with Elizabeth Bathurst, now Lady Hampden ; and although his zeal was not abated, there was much less irritability, and a stricter regard to the philosophy of conduct than formerly. This was particularly manifest in the account he had given of his interview with the Lord Chancellor.

Lord Hampden did not return until half an hour after we had retired. Soon after breakfast on the following morning he invited us into his library, when the following formed a part of a long conversation.

Lord Hampden.—Since I have taken my seat in the Upper House, I have repeatedly consulted noble Lords of all parties, on the renovation of society ; but not one has been found willing to adopt my suggestions. Some are alarmed at the idea of introducing poor-laws into Ireland ;—others distinctly avow the opinion that education has been already too much extended : but all exclaim against any measures tending to increase population. Besides, the opinions which I am known to entertain, operate so powerfully in shutting me out from all attention, that I think I shall be able to effect more good by the resignation of

my title and honours, and retiring to a private station.

Fitzosborne.—Such a step, depend upon it, will tend to prejudice the world still more against the practicability of your plans; it will imply that you consider it necessary suddenly to revolutionize society, and amalgamate all classes, which you have often justly declared to be impossible.

Lord Hampden.—But I can prevent such an impression, by an avowal of the motives that have prompted me in particular to relinquish an elevated rank, in consequence of having taken so decided a part in the advocacy of our principles.

Fitzosborne.—I am as little reconciled to it, as to the assumption of a dress more in accordance with nature than that which is generally worn. Even the slight peculiarity of the St. Simonians I should have objected to, although I had participated in most of their opinions. The only external distinction in those who declare that they alone are in possession of unalloyed truth, should be found in the superiority of their conduct.

Bertrand.—I have an aversion to titles, upon Christian grounds; for however some may pretend, by partial quotations from Scripture, that they are authorized, they appear to me so opposed to the whole tenour of the Gospel, and to the meekness of its spirit, that this is one of the points in which I coincide with the Society of

Friends :—but I do not suppose that you will be influenced by the authority of religion.

Lord Hampden.—And why, Charles, should you suppose me less disposed to be guided by the authority of truth than yourself? Although I cannot acquiesce so readily in some of the doctrines,—am I to be supposed as yielding a less willing assent to all that has been confirmed by experience? Who has paid a deeper reverence to the character of Jesus Christ, than myself? or endeavoured more earnestly, though many have more successfully, to be guided by his precepts and example in the propagation of truth?

Bertrand.—Believe me, my friend, I did not mean to impeach your sincerity; but we have met so rarely of late years, that I was not aware that you consulted the best of all books.

Lord Hampden.—Some months before our marriage, my wife prevailed upon me to read the Scriptures regularly; and the practice has been continued since we were united. I cannot say that my opinions are changed; but I hold that volume in much higher estimation, for the numerous inestimable passages in which charity, self-examination, and pity for the wanderings of others are enforced; and I think I may add, that, in consequence of my directing the attention of Lady Hampden to other parts of the volume, her views of religion have become less exclusive, and that

she has regarded Dissenters with more indulgence ;—indeed, I think much good has been derived by both.

Bertrand.—Persevere, my dear friend, in the perusal: I heartily congratulate you on this change.

Lord Hampden.—What change? I hope I shall be at all times ready to yield assent upon conviction, and not to be steadfast in anything but a desire for truth and improvement. If you wish me to be fixed in opinions which are beyond our limited faculties to establish, I think—nay, I am firmly convinced, that such steadfastness is the greatest evil in the world, and the sole cause of all uncharitableness. But of what part of my conduct do you disapprove, that you earnestly wish me to study the Scriptures? Lady Hampden and myself perfectly understand each other: I find in the New Testament those examples and that spirit which I hope one day to see general throughout society; and while she superadds to the consciousness that it contains the only means of happiness, the sentiment of obedience to the written word of God, I am strengthened in my conviction of its moral truths, by their consistency with the laws of our nature.

Bertrand.—You would feel a deeper interest if you also could have Lady Hampden's additional confidence.

Lord Hampden.—Are you not satisfied with the truths in astronomy, and with mathematical

demonstrations, without any confirmation from a special divine revelation?

Bertrand.—You must not be surprised if I am anxious to prevent the spread of infidelity.

Lord Hampden.—And when have I contributed to the spread of infidelity? Indeed, Charles, it is rather inconsiderate in you, to bring such charges against those whose faith is not so firm or so copious as your own: it is you who raise the cry, and call up scepticism in the minds of others. If I cannot satisfy my doubts and yet am silent, of what can you complain? There are thousands, if not millions, in my painful situation, or perhaps in worse, compelled to play the hypocrite, or starve their families.

Fitzosborne.—Those are the infidels who, disbelieving the sufficiency of moral science when diligently studied, abandon the path of inductive philosophy, for the speculations and traditions of the darker ages. Not a single disability on account of opinion should remain a day longer a disgrace on the Statute Book. But I must join my complaints, Charles, to those of our friend, in regard to your perpetual recurrence to this subject. If either of us were accustomed to ridicule or disturb the opinions of others, or obtrude upon them our own doubts and speculations, the case would be different; and perhaps we are remiss in the discharge of *our* duty, in preserving silence. Be that as it may, you are

the disturber of the peace, as well as all those who are not content to go to heaven their own way, but must interfere with those who are quietly pursuing the path which their consciences dictate.

Bertrand.—Surely it is natural for me to wish to correct the errors of my friends, especially of those for whom I have great regard, and in a matter of such deep importance !

Fitzosborne.—It is a very natural desire ;—but is it not equally natural for us to be as anxious to disabuse others of the pernicious doctrines in which they have been educated ? are we less ardent for the welfare of others ? And yet see the condition in which those are placed who take a single step in developing a truth at variance with popular opinions : no term is deemed too reproachful ; they are denounced as heretics and infidels, banished from private society, and held up to public odium.

Lord Hampden.—Besides, Bertrand, when you look to the prodigious labours of the Bible and Tract Societies ; the thousands of ministers whose interest it is to uphold religious faith ; the enormous wealth and power of the Church, armed with ecclesiastical and civil authority ; the influence they maintain over the minds of the rising generation, deciding among their parishioners what books they should read, and what avoid ;

—when at Exeter Hall, in the month of May, you hear of the vast exertions made in this country and all parts of the world ; when you behold the ardent zeal manifested in the eloquent and impassioned speeches delivered ; when you read the reports of ladies visiting poor cottagers, “instant in season and out of season” ; when every year these accounts are increasing,—it does not argue much for your confidence in the force of truth, that with all this powerful artillery you should dread even the silence of the sceptic.

Bertrand.—When men, distinguished for their intelligence and perhaps for superior morals, withhold their sanction to the established ordinances, do they not set a dangerous example of indifference ?

Lord Hampden.—But what are they to do ? would you have them play the hypocrite ? You object to their silence, but still more to the avowal of their doubts.

Fitzosborne.—No one can object more than myself to a want of courtesy and deference to the opinions of others ; but most decidedly do I object to the infliction of punishment for such conduct.

Bertrand.—Would you expose an ignorant populace to the designs of blasphemers who employ only ribaldry and ridicule ?

Fitzosborne.—There should be no ignorant

populace : an improved education is the best, the only antidote to error : make the people intelligent, and ribaldry will lose its effect.—But to return to the subject of the relinquishment of your title. Lord Hampden,—for I hope I may still address you so,—I am sure you will retain more influence in an elevated station than in retirement.

Lord Hampden.—My resolution has been deliberately formed. In promoting schools, in writing, gardening, and in aiding useful institutions in the country, I find sufficient excitement, without the violence of party feeling I am obliged to encounter in the metropolis. Here my health is better, and my disposition more tranquil.

Fitzosborne.—What would be the effect of a bold advocacy of a new order of society in the House of Lords ?

Lord Hampden.—Derision and scorn : in short, there is scarcely one idea regarding improvement that I hold in common with them. But I am determined, when I take leave of the House, to declare those measures that appear to be absolutely necessary for the preservation of peace and the rapid improvement of all classes.

Fitzosborne.—I hope you will be temperate in the choice of your epithets, although I know you will feel strongly. What think you of the Reformed Parliament ?

Lord Hampden.—It promises but little at present; and although the opinion out of doors is correct as to the real cause of our difficulties, it has no sanction in the House.

Fitzosborne.—We shall soon be in the same condition as in Ireland; and I begin to think that confusion and anarchy will precede the adoption of a better system, so unwilling are all parties to undergo the labour of much thinking.—At the party where you met some of the political œconomists, was Colonel Torrens present?

Bertrand.—He was not: but I observe from his speech on the opening of the Reformed Parliament, that he has no plan of relief, except emigration to Canada.

Fitzosborne.—Quite a Malthusian. I should like to ask him if not only Ireland, but England, Scotland, and all Europe, are to seek the same mode of relief. He took a rapid review of all the remedies, and very superciliously dismissed them: he even condemned the attempt to shorten the hours of labour among the factory children, as inconsistent with his notions of political œconomy.

Bertrand.—But, if I recollect, he stated reasons why it would not diminish distress, as the manufacturer could not raise the price of his article, on account of the superabundant supply; or lower wages, because they were already reduced to the starving point. The only method that remained

was, according to his opinion, for Parliament to take measures to diminish the cost of production by reducing the taxes, and by the introduction of cheap food.

Fitzosborne.—But how could those measures prevent the competition which now compels every manufacturer to diminish the cost of his article in every possible way? Wages will still sink to the starving point; and if any attempted to give more, they would be undersold.

Bertrand.—Colonel Torrens would have added to the confusion of ideas among the party. Vela, who accompanied me there *incog.*, was perfectly astonished at the discussion; and as we came away said, that many of the terms he had heard so frequently repeated were new to him in such inquiries,—over-population—currency—soils of the first and second quality—free trade—supply and demand—measures of value—theory of profits—national debt, &c. “But what,” he added, “surprised me most was, that men of such acquirements could suppose that the desire of knowledge, a superior education, and the force of habit, would not collectively furnish a stronger stimulus to beneficial activity than the love of gain.” And certainly if they had been brought up exclusively as traders, it would not have been surprising.

Lord Hampden.—Or if the Rev. Mr. Malthus, instead of being educated for the Church,—and

then abandoning the path of piety in order to plan alarming tables of redundant population, and composing huge unintelligible volumes on political œconomy,—had been born a Canadian hunter, who after providing for his bodily wants slothfully reposed until the calls of nature summoned him again to the chase ;—if Mr. M'Culloch, instead of harassing a weary audience with confused speculations which he is puzzled to explain, had been a Highland shepherd, tending his flock, wearing the tartan and bonnet, and reclining on the bosom of one of his native mountains ;—if these had been their occupations—and happy indeed for mankind had such destiny been theirs !—we should have understood why indolence would seem to them the greatest of all luxuries : but that men enjoying intellectual pursuits should be unconscious of higher motives to exertion and enterprise, is beyond all comprehension.

Fitzosborne.—So you intend, Lord Hampden, to occupy yourself in the humble task of alleviating the ills of society, rather than in endeavouring to remove their causes ?

Lord Hampden.—Certainly not. I perceive no chance of moving the House of Lords, and therefore I purpose setting them an example of a course which I conceive it is their direct and obvious interest to follow. Are we not agreed as to the present and future impossibility, under the exist-

ing system, for labour and every species of employment, save and except peculiar skill and rare talent, to be adequately rewarded*?

Fitzosborne.—We have long since come to that conclusion.

Lord Hampden.—Are we not also agreed, that a new and consistent order of society must arise? that all violent and sanguinary revolutions fail in accomplishing their objects? that even a sudden moral revolution is impracticable, because of the prejudices of society and the variety of contracted habits rendering any sudden beneficial change impossible and hopeless?

Fitzosborne.—We concur in all this.

Lord Hampden.—My object then is, to prepare

* "All subsistence and all accumulation derived either from rents, or the more insidious and indirect means of annuities, profits, professions, service, or from taxation, direct or indirect, or indeed by any means except that of *productive labour*, are virtually derived from the products of labour; consequently all accumulation resolves itself not into any accession of national wealth, but into an *abstraction* from the fair and just reward due to the labour and skill applied in production, at the sacrifice of privation of consumption.

"On a full and fair analysis and investigation of the effects of accumulation, it will be seen that its tendency is to produce a converging ascendancy and influence, in a ratio corresponding with its aggregate increase; and that the consequence inseparable from such ascendancy and influence is a progressive divergence of privation, distress, and misery, in a ratio inversely as the ascendancy and influence converges."—*Statistical Illustrations.*

the minds of men for the change, by means of education; and to allay the present discontent, by giving to labourers portions of land. This mansion is of great extent, and I intend to devote it to a school for the children of the aristocracy.

Bertrand.—You can scarcely expect the aristocracy to permit their children to be sent to a school under your auspices, after the bold avowal of your sentiments, political as well as religious.

Lord Hampden.—There are many among them liberal in their opinions; and the superior character and the happiness of the boys educated here will soon attract them: besides, arrangements shall be made for each to receive religious instruction, in conformity with the wishes of their parents, of whatever sect they may be.

Bertrand.—They will all, whether Whig or Tory, desire their children to be prepared for some profession.

Lord Hampden.—In that they will certainly not be accommodated. The Society of Friends have neither clergy, lawyers, nor soldiers; much less will a generation educated in a manner superior to the systems of that society require them; each will be a law unto himself, civil and religious; and as, when all are properly educated there will be none to make them afraid, they will need no defence from internal commotion; foreign countries must speedily follow in our track of

improvement, and be equally indisposed to violence.

Fitzosborne.—You certainly have great capability in this noble mansion: But do you intend to reside here?

Lord Hampden.—We shall occupy that small house upon the hill, built in the Gothic style: it is about a mile distant, and commands a beautiful prospect both on this and on the other side of the hill; it overlooks entirely the park and grounds. This plan will relieve us of the care, trouble and responsibility for the moral character of so many servants. We purpose retaining three or four rooms in one of the wings.

Bertrand.—I hope the educators will adopt the system of education you recommended to the Lord Chancellor?

Lord Hampden.—One much more complete. The right wing of the house will be devoted to an infant boarding school, and to the reception of children as soon as they can walk, and perhaps earlier. Boys and girls, under an unremitting moral superintendence, shall be educated together without any distinction: they shall themselves devote much attention to the conduct of the younger children, and become the chief directors of large parochial and infant schools for the poor in our own neighbourhood. They shall also, accompanied by experienced persons, be particularly

attentive to the poor themselves, suggesting improvements in their gardens and cottages, aiding them in want and sickness ; so that while they are thus advancing in moral education, they will ameliorate the condition of society.

Fitzosborne.—I think your plan is excellent, and I hope it will be followed : it would be necessary for a few only of the nobility to imitate it ; and several of them have seats entirely unoccupied.

Lord Hampden.—There is no safety for them but in this course. A partially enlightened and starving people will never be contented. In employment for adults and improved education for children, are all my hopes of prosperity centered. These are the only practical measures that can now be adopted, or that can lead to any ultimate good.

Fitzosborne.—You intend giving allotments to the poor?

Lord Hampden.—Certainly : but whether I shall give separate allotments, or attempt to induce them to cultivate the whole for their joint benefit, I have not yet fully determined. Perhaps the former plan will be adopted : but at all events the children shall be so educated that when they arrive at the age of puberty they will prefer a system of united interests.

Fitzosborne.—At your interview with the Lord Chancellor I think you suggested the endowment

of a professorship of moral philosophy ;—did you mention the name of any individual as competent to fill the chair ?

Lord Hampden.—I spoke of the subject generally.

Fitzosborne.—The utility of such an endowment must depend entirely upon the competency of the individual appointed to the professorship.

Bertrand.—Its greatest utility would be promoted by the appointment of a Utilitarian.

Fitzosborne.—We will pardon the pun, Charles, if you will give us a principle upon which to build up the science of morals.

Bertrand.—What better principle can you have than that found in the New Testament?

Fitzosborne.—It matters not in what work it may be found, provided it is throughout consistent with the works of nature; for this is the only infallible criterion of truth in all the sciences.

Lord Hampden.—I have often heard you speak in terms of admiration of Dugald Stewart ;—would you have a professor following in his footsteps ?

Fitzosborne.—Dugald Stewart did not pretend to establish any new principles in moral philosophy; but his writings abound in sanguine anticipations of the great good that would be effected in these inquiries, when guided by the inductive philosophy of Lord Bacon.

Lord Hampden.—Will Brown, or Reid, assist you ?

Fitzosborne.—Brown, the predecessor of Stewart, refuted some of the errors of preceding writers, and assisted greatly to promote freedom of investigation. Reid also successfully combated the speculations of others : but neither of these writers undertook to propound a complete system of morals.

Bertrand.—You cannot say that of Paley.

Fitzosborne.—No, Charles ; and you, I apprehend, are not very proud of his performance.

Lord Hampden.—We must acknowledge ourselves indebted to him, in his analogy of the pigeons, for a faithful picture of the present system of injustice*.

Fitzosborne.—And then, assuming the necessity of its continuance, he wrote a manual of good

* “If you should see a flock of pigeons in a field of corn, and if (instead of each picking where, and what it liked, taking just as much as he wanted and no more,) you should see ninety-nine of them gathering all they got, into a heap ; reserving nothing for themselves but the chaff and the refuse ; keeping this heap for one, and that the weakest of the flock ; sitting round, and looking on, all the winter, whilst this one was devouring, throwing about, and wasting it ; and if a pigeon more hardy or hungry than the rest, touched a grain of the hoard, all the others instantly flying upon it, and tearing it to pieces ;—if you should see this, you would see nothing more than what is every day practised and established among men. Among men, you see the ninety and nine toiling and scraping to-

manners for those who live under it. Because the institution of private property in land contributed to its original cultivation, does it follow that mankind collectively could not now be induced, by superior training and intelligence, to share employment and its fruits, upon principles of equity and justice? Besides, the land would still belong to particular communities. It is the unnatural and exclusive monopoly of so much by individuals, that now causes the misery of society.

Bertrand.—There is a striking argument in favour of united interests, in Dr. Paley's Moral Philosophy, although he confines it to family interests. It is surprising that he did not recognise the possibility of its application to more extended combinations. It occurs in the chapter on the Duty of Parents:—he says, “And indeed it cannot be denied that it is in the power of asso-

gether a heap of superfluities for one, (and this one, too, oftentimes the feeblest and the worst of the whole set,—a child, a woman, a madman, or a fool); getting nothing for themselves all the while, but a little of the coarsest of the provision which their own industry produces; looking quietly on, while they see the fruits of all their labour spent or spoiled; and if one of the number take or touch a particle of the hoard, the others joining against him, and hanging him for the theft.” Paley's Moral Philosophy. Dr. Paley must have had great confidence in his ability to justify this inequality, or he would have been less bold in his description.

ciation so to unite our children's interest with our own, as that we shall often pursue both from the same motive, place both in the same object, and with as little sense of duty in one pursuit as in the other." The same principle would obtain in a community of five hundred families brought up as one family.

Fitzosborne.—But Paley is conventional: he may suit Oxford and Cambridge and other colleges of expediency; but his system is not built upon universal principles, and cannot therefore be considered as the science of moral philosophy.

Lord Hampden.—What say you to Adam Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments?

Fitzosborne.—Smith, in the same manner as Hume, took a survey of the passions, and their influence upon happiness: both discussed the systems of others with various success, and considered the science of moral philosophy as incomplete.

Lord Hampden.—But Smith begins with your favourite principle of Sympathy.

Fitzosborne.—He does so; but then he regards it only as one among many of the sources of happiness; and not as capable of being made a master principle, ruling the passions and desires of mankind. Were I to be so daring as to attempt to construct a system, I should endeavour to find some principle of universal influence upon

which all others, in conformity with it, could be ingrafted.

Lord Hampden.—Was not this done by Jeremy Bentham, when he set up the principle of Utility?

Fitzosborne.—That principle was previously adopted by Hume. But it appears to me to be no more suitable as a basis, than Justice, and many other virtues; for to be just, is to do all we can for the benefit of all: but still the question remains, What is just, and what useful? Whereas to adopt the principle of Sympathy, or universal benevolence, you have not only as good a test by which to estimate the value of actions, but a direct appeal to the best feelings, which are at once called into exercise to the benefit, immediate and remote, of the individual as well as of the community. Sympathy, intelligent sympathy, is accompanied with pleasure,—antipathy, with pain; the one is therefore good, the other evil.

Lord Hampden.—Some of our opponents will tell us, that we must indulge antipathy to the bad, whether in intention or in deed: this, however, is at variance with the philosophy which maintains that the thoughts and feelings are not under the controul of the individual.

Fitzosborne.—Hence this knowledge increases our compassion for the individual; and a conviction of the power of benevolence to overcome evil with good, will tend to its greater activity. These

truths will be found in accordance with the principle I have laid down, and will therefore not impede, but, by removing obstructions, facilitate the growth and extension of sympathy. Most of the systems of religion, regarding the individual as responsible for his thoughts and actions, encourage antipathy and punishment, and thereby frustrate the free circulation of that love which they enjoin, and which will one day reign triumphant. Sympathy is to the moral, what the sun is to the material, world ; and as the planets revolve round the latter in their respective orbits, so does enlightened sympathy controul the passions and appetites within due bounds, and render them tributary to the happiness of the individual and to the harmony of society.

Bertrand.—You may compare it to the mordant in chemistry, so far as it can unite heterogeneous qualities.

Fitzosborne.—There is no principle in nature that will bear any comparison with it in powerful agency. Nothing in human society can be accomplished—nay, society itself, properly so called, cannot exist, without it ; scarcely any obstacles are insurmountable with it. “ ’Tis the divinity that stirs within us.” But, oh ! what incredible pains have been taken to repress its growth and to stifle its expression ! All, however, is in vain ; it maintains a constant struggle for freedom,

though when it makes itself heard, it is too often as "the voice of one crying in the wilderness."

Lord Hampden.—A truce with this rhapsody, Fitzosborne: I thought you were about to explain your principle in the sober strain of philosophy.

Fitzosborne.—I know not what further explanation to offer: it seems to be a truth applicable to all times and places; the first to be applied in the rearing of children, and susceptible of daily improvement; the conservator of all that is good, and the certain reformation of all that is bad,—a principle never to be lost sight of. If I am asked for a proof, I refer each individual to the history of his own life, and to his hourly experience.

Bertrand.—Do we not lose sight of it when we employ satire to correct the abuses of society?

Fitzosborne.—We do so; and I think it will be right to lay aside such weapons in future; they belong solely to antipathy.—But to return to children. When they shall be trained by competent individuals, the most sedulous care will guard them even from a look that may tend to weaken their affections, or give them a wrong direction. They will become so familiarized and habituated to the pleasures of sympathy, that all their intellectual acquirements will be consecrated to its preservation. It will become the most

craving of their desires, and will gain such an ascendancy in manhood, that no means will be neglected that can strengthen or gratify it, while any portion of the globe is uninstructed in conformity with their own advancement. Great as have been the efforts of Bible, Tract, and Missionary Societies, they will have been as nothing compared with the energies of men who know that the infallible truths of science they are propagating must be eternal; that they will be sowing seed that cannot fall on barren ground, since in every mind there will be a reciprocity for obvious truth administered by kindness. They will soon discover this sympathy to be the "pearl of great price," and will esteem it of "more value than life itself."

Lord Hampden.—More rhapsody! This will not do for a lecture on moral philosophy.

Fitzosborne.—I shall not pretend to lecture on such a subject: But tell me, have I not fixed upon the fundamental principle?

Lord Hampden.—I begin to think you have: is it your own discovery?

Fitzosborne.—Certainly not: as an important truth in Christian philosophy, I have seldom found it better illustrated than in Pestalozzi's "Letters to Greave." Thompson, in his elaborate work "The Distribution of Wealth," as well as in his Practical Directions for "Cooperative Com-

munities," dwells on the pleasures of sympathy, without sufficiently appreciating the extraordinary power which it is capable of acquiring. This power is set forth in its greatest plenitude both in the Old and New Testaments.

Bertrand.—Hear, hear !

Fitzosborne.—But you must allow me to disengage it from passages not in unison with it, and which cannot be combined in framing a system throughout consistent;—this will be absolutely necessary ere it can rank as a principle of science*. There are some, for instance, who although recognising the power of sympathy, are still advocates of occasional punishment, because Jesus made a scourge of small cords, drove the money-changers out of the temple, and overthrew the tables ; and because Solomon had said, " he that spareth the rod hateth his son." If therefore I am to combine any religion with the science of moral philosophy, it must not contain a single example or precept that is not in strict accordance with the laws of nature and of justice, or that shall not appeal to the affections.

Lord Hampden.—Fitzosborne, you are right.

* "I was wondering, said I, whence it should happen, that in a discourse of such a nature you should say so little of Religion, of Providence, and a Deity. I have not, replied he, omitted them because not intimately united to morals, but because whatever we treat accurately, should be treated separately and apart."—HARRIS, *Dialogue concerning Happiness*.

It is impossible to admit any proposition or recorded fact, that does not conform with, or illustrate your science. What should we say of a system of astronomy that was framed in careful accordance with the Mosaic account of the Creation, and rejected the most palpable truths at variance with that account? Would not the progress of discovery be checked?

Fitzosborne.—Besides, if the denomination of any religion was connected with the science, all other sects would refuse to examine it; the Jew, the Mahometan, and the Hindoo, would reject a system of morality on that very account: “Can any good come out of Nazareth?” would be the exclamation of all religionists except Christians.

Bertrand.—Had you both been present in a visit that Vela and myself paid to a poor widow in the manufacturing districts, and witnessed the consolation she derived under the pressure of misfortune and accumulated suffering, from her reliance upon an all-seeing and heavenly Father, you would hesitate before you uttered a syllable that could disturb that confidence.

Fitzosborne.—Now, Bertrand, let us examine this subject more closely. Do you not consider this Heavenly Father to be an all-pervading Spirit?

Bertrand.—Certainly.

Fitzosborne.—And are you not told that “God is love.”

Bertrand.—Undoubtedly.

Fitzosborne.—Now suppose this afflicted widow had been trained from childhood in the constant exercise of sympathy. Experience from year to year, nay from day to day, would have convinced her that it was the only source of happiness; delightful emotions would have accompanied every feeling and its consequent action, and her enjoyments would have been heightened by her reflected sympathy from all within the sphere of her acquaintance. When misfortune befell her, this superintending providence would have become visible in the strong solicitude of her friends; and she would have recollected that to indulge in immoderate grief was selfishness, of no use to the dead, and an injustice to the living: she would have aroused herself, and, turning her loss to good account, considered her duties, and the numbers in a worse condition; her well-known source of comfort would be ready; she would have gone to her neighbours to assist them in improving their children, or, had she required it, would have been assisted by them.

Bertrand.—And can there exist any objection to giving this principle of love, the sanction of divine revelation?

Fitzosborne.—If an angel from heaven were to

inform you of the peculiar properties of an alkali or an acid, should you be more convinced than at present of their efficacy? Do any of the laws of nature require supernatural confirmation? Suppose you had a traditionary account of the science of chemistry, in which, among many striking truths, there were mingled glaring and contradictory assertions, and this traditionary account, liable to misinterpretation in ages of ignorance, was taken in every respect as an infallible guide,—would it be possible for the science of chemistry to advance?

Bertrand.—I should think not.

Fitzosborne.—Behold, then, the cause of the science of morals being so clogged and impeded in its course by the admixture of error with truth*. Why, some of the important truths in Christianity are scarcely any more influential in ameliorating

* “The rose pleases from its colours, its form, and its fragrance. It asks no aid from association to render it lovely and beloved. We wish, however, to make the couch-grass or the dock-leaf equally agreeable to a child: we therefore present the two to it always together; and either by the continued assertion of some falsehood respecting some imputed virtue of the weed, as of its power to cure disease or to influence future events, or the practical falsehood of always connecting the stems of the flower and the weed neatly joined together, and feeling ourselves—(if under the influence of the same early association,) or if not, affecting to feel—an equal delight in the flower and the weed, we imbue the child’s mind with an associated love of what is pernicious.”—THOMPSON, *Practical Directions*.

the condition of society now, than in centuries past. How often have you complained of the controversies and bickerings, even in your religious Societies, upon doctrinal points !

Bertrand.—But to return to the poor widow: You cannot deny that she derives consolation from the hope of an hereafter, where recompence will be made for all her sufferings ?

Fitzosborne.—What is the conduct of those in affliction, who have been trained without a knowledge of the power of sympathy? They find themselves abandoned by all the world, their days and nights are spent in reading the Bible, and looking forward to a future state of existence. Thus time is consumed, and the community deprived of the aid perhaps of two of its members instead of one; and the individual too often vainly seeks in seclusion and in a vague and abstract idea, that comfort which could be with certainty realized in the midst of society. When this holy spirit—for in its super-eminent power to confer happiness, it is truly holy—shall be rightly understood, it will be seen, that without the individual and collective exertion of mankind, it can have no palpable and beneficial existence of any great extent: but with this general and determined effort to sustain it, the present, as well as the future, condition of the human race will be improved, and the immortality of this great moral

truth be brought fully to light. Nature has annexed to the exercise of feelings, and to the performance of actions, of the greatest utility, the most exquisite happiness, immediate as well as permanent ; least of all, therefore, do these require any adventitious aid.

Lord Hampden.—You may say with Marcus Aurelius, that “ every benefit granted to man, is an act of worship to the Deity.”

Fitzosborne.—Provided the benefit is bestowed with feelings of benevolence.

Bertrand.—True ; for “ God is a spirit ; and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth.”

Fitzosborne.—And I say, in the language of the verse preceding your quotation, “ The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshipers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth.”

Lord Hampden.—Charles, do not interrupt him with Scriptural quotations ; if anything is uttered that is not true in nature, we must contest the point. But say, Fitzosborne, in what way would you begin to teach the rudiments of this science, so that those who run might read ? so that it would be impossible for any one, who properly attended to it, not to understand it ?

Fitzosborne.—I should endeavour to make the pupil comprehend the relation which man bore to all the things upon the planet he inhabits. The

mutual dependence of the vegetable and animal kingdoms ; the peculiarities that distinguish his species from the rest of the animal creation ; the helpless state of man in infancy ; the long period required for his growth and maturity. His consequent greater dependence upon others for assistance would thus be rendered familiar to him,—Hence the more urgent necessity for sympathy, to quicken that assistance. I would proceed to show the advantages of union, in defence against other animals ; in mutual support ; in developing the faculties ; in the interchange of kind offices ; in strengthening the affections ; in intellectual improvement ; in all pursuits, whether of utility or mere pleasure ;—that there was scarcely anything to be accomplished without union, and that there could be no enduring union without sympathy. I would lead them to perceive that all were differently organized, some having greater advantages than others ;—that unless the weak in intellect or in bodily constitution were assisted by those of capacious mind and of corporeal strength, they would become a burden upon society.

Bertrand.—“ Inasmuch as you have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.”

Fitzosborne.—I would strive to make them understand that the command which man has obtained over the elements can be wielded with the

greatest advantage only by united exertion ; and to convince them of the power of sympathy in strengthening union, they should be referred to their own most intimate friendships, and to their family endearments. Having familiarized their minds to the contemplation of its effects in family and friendly associations as well as in those of communities, I would direct their views to other countries, and enable them to distinguish the interest they had in promoting it elsewhere as well as at home ; inasmuch as their intercourse with distant nations would be thereby rendered more amicable, wars prevented, and a friendly reception for travellers ensured in every part of the world.

Bertrand.—"For the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

Fitzosborne.—When the knowledge of this truth, this love, sympathy, or whatever name you may give it, shall be practically known and have overspread the earth, the social fabric will be everywhere raised upon a solid foundation. And all this would be speedily accomplished through one striking example of a successful education, from which rewards, punishments, and emulation were banished, and the affections constantly appealed to; for

"Who, that bears

A human bosom, hath not often felt

How dear are all those ties which bind our race

In gentleness together, and how sweet

Their force ?"

Bertrand.—Does not this conviction prevail wherever Christianity is found?

Fitzosborne.—You cannot suppose, Charles, that I mean the mere cold assent to this truth, without a deep and holy feeling of its inestimable value. It must be understood with an understanding heart, and wrought into the very-being of the man*.

Lord Hampden.—If you think to make all men take an interest in the totality and all-pervading influence of this principle, it will of course be necessary to render comprehensive minds universal.

Fitzosborne.—If the knowledge of all general principles constitutes comprehensiveness of mind, I can see no reason why the whole of the human race are not susceptible of such knowledge. What

* “For this ‘subdued propriety’ of temper, a practical faith in the doctrine of philosophical necessity seems the only preparative. *That vice is the effect of error and the offspring of surrounding circumstances, the object therefore of condolence, not of anger,* is a proposition easily understood, and as easily demonstrated. But to make it spread from the understanding to the affections, to call it into action, not only in the great exertions of patriotism, but in the daily and hourly occurrences of social life, requires the most watchful attentions of the most energetic mind. It is not enough that we have once swallowed these truths,—we must feed on them as insects on a leaf, till the whole heart be coloured by their qualities, and show its food in the minutest fibre. Finally, in the words of an Apostle, ‘Watch ye! Stand fast in the principles of which ye have been convinced! Quit yourselves like men! Be strong! Yet let all things be done in the spirit of love.’ ”—COLERIDGE.

is more calculated to give large ideas of the grandeur of the universe, than a knowledge of those general principles of astronomy in which all may be instructed? And in like manner can all be made to understand the real nature of themselves; their elevated character among the works of the creation; their relation to the past and the future condition of the human race, and the only means by which they can, individually and collectively, contribute to the progression and to the harmony of the whole*; and perceive that in every act of benevolence performed, in every injury sustained without retaliation, they were contributing to the

* “Hence, he who pursues his own *private good*, with an intention also to concur with that constitution which tends to the *good* of the *whole*; and much more he who promotes his *own good* with a direct view of making himself more capable of serving God, or doing good to *mankind*,—acts not only *innocently*, but also *honourably* and *virtuously*; for in both these cases, *Benevolence* concurs with *Self-love* to excite him to the action. And thus a *neglect* of our *own good* may be *morally evil*, and argue a want of *benevolence* toward the *whole*.”—HUTCHESON.

The work from which this note is extracted is entitled, “An Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue”; and contains one of the most complete systems of moral philosophy in our own, or perhaps in any language. The copy now before me is a third edition, and published in the year 1729. That Oxford and Cambridge should prefer the shallow expediency of Paley to the profound philosophy of Hutcheson, is a striking proof of the impediments which Universities present to the progress of moral science.

highest excellence in which man could participate, and to the aggregate power of the world.

Lord Hampden.—You must take some pains to methodize your instruction; and perhaps it may at length be taught as a complete science

Fitzosborne.—This perhaps has already been done by the first writer of the day in popular instruction; since Dr. Arnott—who in his “*Elements of Physics*” brought science, without any loss of its dignity, from the schools and colleges to the family circle,—announces a work on Education. Such a production can scarcely fail to embrace the leading principles of moral philosophy, which if rendered intelligible to the simple apprehensions of minds unincumbered with the learning of the schools, and therefore more free to begin with the elementary principles, will dissolve the connexion between morals and mysteries, and render the path of happiness distinct and attractive.

Lord Hampden.—We will resume the consideration of this subject tomorrow, in connexion with a letter I received in the spring, and in which I think you will be interested.

CHAPTER X.

“ Our needful knowledge, like our needful food,
Unhedg’d, lies open in life’s common field ;
And bids all welcome to the common feast.
You scorn what lies before you in the page
Of nature, and experience, moral truth ;
Of indispensable, eternal fruit ;
Fruit, on which mortals feeding, turn to gods.”

YOUNG.

ABOUT noon on the following day Lord Hampden invited us again to the library, where Lady Hampden, at his request, joined us ; when the following conversation, as far as my memory serves, took place.

Lord Hampden.—In the spring of the present year I received a letter from a lady who signs herself Vlasta, and is better known to you, Fitzosborne, than to myself, announcing the death of Mr. William Thompson, the devoted friend of humanity, the avowed and uncompromising supporter of systems of equal interests.

Fitzosborne.—I had long known him as a powerful and unwearied labourer in that vineyard where the labourers are so few. Eloquent in debate when excited by opposition, he was

no less argumentative and convincing in his elaborate compositions : no sophistry, however subtle, escaped his acute perception ; and the vigilance with which he guarded against every possibility of misconception cannot be surpassed. Even where he repeated former arguments, he placed them in a new and stronger light, for the improvement of minds more shrouded in prejudice than others.

Bertrand.—A friend of mine was invited to become a trustee of his estate, in consequence of one of the individuals appointed under the Will declining to act ; but he refused, although he lived in Ireland.

Fitzosborne.—What were his motives for declining ?

Bertrand.—The expressions in the Will on the subject of religion.

Fitzosborne.—I hope you, Charles, would not have withdrawn from such a motive.

Bertrand.—Certainly not : but I am not surprised that many influential men should object to identify themselves, in the view of the public, with parties unfriendly to religion, and more especially with one so avowedly hostile as the late Mr. Thompson.

Fitzosborne.—Mr. Thompson was opposed to those dogmas only that stood in the way of human improvement ; and the melancholy cir-

cumstances of his funeral fully justified his opposition. I am informed that a crowd assembled at the place of burial, and endeavoured to prevent his interment, because he was not a Christian.

Bertrand.—Catholics, I presume.

Fitzosborne.—I am assured that many were Protestants.

Bertrand.—The Catholic priest and the Protestant minister most probably interfered to pacify the people.

Fitzosborne.—I believe not.

Lord Hampden.—This, then, is the fruit of attaching an undue importance to points of doctrine in public instruction. No man living could manifest greater devotion to the cause of that universal brotherhood enforced by Jesus Christ * than Mr. Thompson ; and yet, because he could not comprehend and conscientiously acknowledge a faith which many blindly receive, persecution follows him to the grave, although he surrendered his property—his life and body—

* “ It is possible for the belief of Christianity to be as criminal as unbelief. Undoubtedly the reception of a system, so pure in spirit and tendency as the Gospel, is to be regarded in general as a favourable sign. But let a man adopt this religion, because it will serve his interest and popularity ; let him shut his mind against objections to it, lest they should shake his faith in a gainful system ; let him tamper with his intellect, and for base and selfish ends exhaust his strength in defence of the prevalent faith,—and he is just as criminal in

all that belonged to him, to the service of the people.

Fitzosborne.—He gave his days and nights to the furtherance of justice ; and whoever may have thought him remiss in the discharge of any private claims, will find that they were not neglected through any selfish consideration, but lost sight of, for a time only, by the pressure of those duties esteemed more imperative and of more extensive and higher obligation. As the welfare of the species was the subject of his continual meditation and of his unwearied efforts, so in his last moments he remembered the sacred cause to which his valuable life and great talents had been dedicated. His Will deserves to be read in the market-place of every town in the empire.

Lord Hampden.—The only copy of the Will I possess has been lent to a relative ;—do you recollect the clause bequeathing his body to the surgeons ?

Fitzosborne.—Perfectly well ; it ran thus,—

believing, as another would be in rejecting Christianity under the same bad impulses. Our religion is at this moment adopted and passionately defended by vast multitudes, on the ground of the very same pride, worldliness, love of popularity, and blind devotion to hereditary prejudices, which led the Jews and heathens to reject it in the primitive age ; and the faith of the first is as wanting in virtue as was the infidelity of the last.”—CHANNING.

“To aid in conquering the foolish, but frequently most mischievous prejudice respecting the benevolent, but, to the operators, most unpleasant, and sometimes dangerous process of examining dead bodies incapable of feeling,—for the benefit of the living, I will that my body be publicly examined by a Lecturer on Anatomy, on condition of his returning the bones in the form of a skeleton, natural or artificial, to be preserved in the Museum of Comparative and Human Anatomy,—as my books, &c., are to be preserved in the Library,—of the First Co-operative Community in Britain or Ireland.”

Lord Hampden.—A noble resolution! What could man do more? His labours, his time, and his fortune were consecrated to his fellow-creatures; and when the spirit that animated his body had fled, all that remained of him was surrendered to the same holy purpose.—I hope the directions regarding the disposal of his remains were complied with.

Fitzosborne.—After his remains had been carried to the place of interment, and a disturbance arose, the friend of Mr. Thompson who superintended the ceremony, and who was himself a Catholic, sent to Dr. Donovan, of Ross Carbery, in the county of Cork, to request him to take the body and dispose of it agreeably to Mr. Thompson's instructions. Dr. Donovan has

the skeleton, and will deliver it to the first Co-operative Community that shall be established. He left the whole of his property, the estate of Carhugarrif, in the county of Cork, consisting of 1400 acres, to trustees for sale, and the purchase-money to be devoted to the establishment of Co-operative Communities and to reprinting his works, "The Distribution of Wealth," "The Appeal of Women," "Labour Rewarded," and "Practical Directions."

Lady Hampden.—In the reprint of "The Appeal of Women," I hope many of the expressions will be altered, and rendered more consistent with those opinions which Mr. Thompson professed: for whatever may be the merits of the work in some respects, there is too frequently an absence of that spirit which a practical knowledge of the principle of philosophical necessity is calculated to engender.

Bertrand.—I have been restrained by the style of certain portions of the volume from putting it into the hands of some of my female friends.

Fitzosborne.—I do not recollect any passages offensive to modesty, although there may be some epithets which might be deemed too coarse by the fastidious. It is, however, like all his other works, a masterly production, but too much in accordance with first principles to be justly appreciated in an age like the present.

Lady Hampden.—It appears to me that there is still wanted a work on the position of women in society. All the books that I have looked into within the last year upon that subject are written with feelings of personal excitement, and in the spirit of one party as opposed to another, rather than with the predominant desire of advancing the improvement and consequent happiness of both sexes.

Bertrand.—Your observation, Lady Hampden, applies, in some respects, to the work in question, as well as to that of Mary Wollstonecraft.

Lady Hampden.—In order to do justice to the subject, it should be considered in relation to the interests and welfare of both sexes; and if an "Appeal" is made to Man, it ought to be conciliatory, but elevated; and he should be regarded throughout as an equal, if not a greater, sufferer, by the errors that have been committed.

Lord Hampden.—And I hope you, Elizabeth, will be the writer.

Lady Hampden.—I, who have been so recently induced by your remarks to pursue such inquiries, must leave the task to those who have long pondered the evils of our defective education;—to the lady, for instance, you met at Chatsworth.

Lord Hampden.—I shall be better pleased by your attempting it, though it should be a year or

two hence, when you have examined the subject more ; in furtherance of which I will now read the interesting letter which I have mentioned already.

“ Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, London, May 13, 1833.
‘ Temple of Truth.’

“ My Lord,

“ It is with feelings of deep regret I announce to Your Lordship the death of our friend Mr. William Thompson the Philanthropist, author of a work on Political Economy (of great research and ability), entitled ‘The Distribution of Wealth,’ the best work on that subject, perhaps, that has yet appeared, inasmuch as it exposes the sophistry and rejects the gross errors of the present infatuated school, which pretends to teach a science simple in itself, yet so contrived as to keep the world in darkness, and mystify every question of interest relating to human happiness and social improvement* ;—author also of ‘The Ap-

* The political œconomists are the chief admirers of the late Mr. Jeremy Bentham, who, although he reached some first principles, generally sought them through a circuitous route, and was unable to conduct his disciples to them through any other course. Early in life a student of the law, he quitted the profession in disgust, but not without certain conventional opinions, which always impeded his researches, and consequently prevented him from becoming a clear as well as a comprehensive writer. The following remark, from a quarterly publication, is a proof that the reviewer, as well as Bentham, has no just conception of the simplicity of moral

peal of Women,' and other works bearing on the all-important question,—social regeneration ; all manifesting an accurate knowledge of the causes of evil, and showing the enlightened and generous sympathy of the writer with his suffering species. The ' greatest happiness principle ' was that which not only guided the pen, but governed the minutest action of Mr. Thompson's useful and laborious life. In all he said, thought, and did, this large, this comprehensive principle declared itself. By his premature death, society has lost a man, and humanity a friend,—a great man in a very humble citizen—an ambitious man in one who lived and died in obscurity ! You, my Lord, will understand all this ; but how difficult would it be to explain to the civilized world this enigma,—this, as it would be considered, antithesis of character, so opposed, as it is, to all the Old World's preconceived notions of human greatness !

“ Mr. Thompson was one of those extraordi-

science, or he would not think it necessary for two or three hundred volumes to be explored before it could be understood. “ But though Bentham has shown how this work is to be conducted, and has laid the foundation of a science which he has named Deontology, and has, in his published works, done much towards raising the superstructure, much remains to be performed. It would be presumptuous to say how much, until the volumes of manuscript (between two and three hundred) which he has left behind him have been examined.”

nary minds which seem to start into existence at the very epoch they are most wanting,—in times only of great difficulty and public distress, when the social edifice seems tottering to its fall, and all the elements of the moral world wage war with existing institutions, as inadequate to the wants of man in his more advanced stage of knowledge and intellectual development.

“ It is at such a moment the enlightened philanthropist appears, and sets himself to the calm investigation of the hidden causes of human misery, poverty, and crime ; and so absorbed was Mr. Thompson in this inquiry, that he may be said to have lost his own individuality in the pursuit ; and we trace the existence of the philosopher only in his labours : here indeed we find him identified with the whole of human kind.

“ Like Pliny watching the combustion of Vesuvius, Mr. Thompson’s more useful investigation of the moral phænomena in its threatened eruption continued to the last hour ; and till Nature herself sounded his retreat, he ceased not his benevolent labours. He was of a weak constitution, a valetudinarian all his life, and suffering from a chest affection, which ultimately killed him ; yet, with such impediments to the acquisition of knowledge, we find, in proportion to the weakness and fragility of his corporeal structure, a mind eminently vigorous and com-

prehensive, directing its noblest energies to the ruling passion of all enlightened and generous natures,—the means of making happy his fellow-man ; and in the sage, this widely-loving disposition is nothing more than the extension of the selfish principle, the concentrated and limited action of which sinks the man,—the intellectual being, exalts the worst propensities of his mere animal nature, and makes him dangerous to himself, and the enemy of his species.

“ Mr. Thompson, like all philanthropists, had faith in humanity : he believed in the progressive improvement of man. The vices that disfigure our race, he justly attributed to the evil circumstances with which the original founders of our social system had surrounded us ; and the ignorance consequent upon the infancy of a species, the law of whose nature it is to acquire a knowledge of itself through experience, and that of a very costly and unpalatable kind,—suffering of every degree and colour, physical and moral. Through this process alone,—this labyrinth of error,—this thorny and rugged path, is man destined to pursue his onward march towards the acquisition of truth, and the Elysian fields of happiness to which it conducts ;—thus rising by slow degrees, like a plant, out of his original germ, and by measured stages shooting upwards towards a full maturity.

“ This is the natural course of our race : but, alas ! it is in the very nature of error also to restrict this progress, and keep man stationary, against all the laws of universal nature. The consequence is, that his existence is perpetuated in convulsion ; his whole social career a fitful, a troubled dream,—and, still worse, an incipient degeneracy of his moral faculties. But the night of ignorance is passing away, and the dawn of a brighter day than humanity has ever yet witnessed is fast breaking upon us ! Man awakes from his perturbed and restless sleep of ages ;—his vision is no longer dim,—he stands erect in numbers, and, eagle-like, with steady gaze fixes the sun,—the soul-reviving sun of knowledge ! It is the obvious interest of all, that knowledge should therefore be as widely diffused as possible, for the light has fallen on all ; but where it has not duly penetrated, it dazzles and leads more widely astray from the path of rectitude and peace. All that seems now requisite to secure the rapid improvement of our species is, that the most advanced, the leaders of public opinion, should preserve a constancy of purpose,—firmness and fixity in principles and opinion ; and, if I may so express myself, a simultaneousness of decision, of action, of conduct, and of doctrine.

“ How important, that the faculty for what-

ever is good, inherent as it is in our nature, should be given a direction which shall ensure its most rapid and complete development !

“ Yet there is something depressing in the reflection, (and none felt this more than our departed friend,) that this unity of purpose, this simultaneous march of public opinion, must meet with many formidable obstacles, in the varied positions, the harassing, often pernicious as well as useless, avocations of mankind under their present social arrangements.

“ The intelligent portion of the useful class, depressed and degraded by want, or privation of all things necessary to their well-being, have still keener pangs to suffer than the mass, whose ignorance is the blind instrument of their own and the general suffering. Individual knowledge acts upon them like the vulture preying upon the vitals of Prometheus,—it mocks them in their chains ; and while revealing to them a fairer tract of country, reminds them that they are bound by an inevitable law, which links them in one common destiny with their species, where all must suffer or enjoy together, according to the right or wrong direction given to the social movement,—the natural or unnatural position we are all placed in. This is the cruel condition to which individuals are exposed who outrun the many in knowledge. For them the tree of know-

ledge is not that of life ; for if they are loaded with its treasures, their feelings become more intense, their sufferings more acute, their prison-house more intolerable ; the mind sinks under its own weight,—its disused talent becomes overcharged with accumulated truths that it cannot impart ; for knowledge is only useful to ourselves when it becomes the current language and common property of all. *Exchange* is the universal law of Nature,—the vivifying principle,—that which unites, regulates, and harmonizes all things ; without which, chaos and confusion would exist in Nature, as it does in human society, which has blindly refused to follow Nature's laws.

“ Where human beings are enslaved and degraded by a senseless routine of practice, which keeps mind isolated from mind, and prohibits the mutual interchange of benefits, we must not wonder at the disorder that reigns amongst us, or that society presents nothing but a den of wild beasts, becoming more and more ferocious and injurious to each other the longer we persist in our present ruinous, anti-social, and vicious course of competition ; a course which leads to the total extinction of all the generous sympathies and elevated moral faculties ; substituting in their place a kind of dwarf intelligence, —a low and sordid cunning, ever ready, like the

tiger, to spring upon its prey ; divesting us of all feelings of fellowship with our kind ; urging us to outwit and lay in wait for the destruction of all who are less wary, less cunning, or less fortunate than ourselves ; making stratagem, fraud and subterfuge the only study of our lives,—the motive that impels to every action. ‘Those,’ says Cowley, ‘who are always in a triumph or a battle, can seldom keep a steady eye on truth.’ This applies not only to the military profession, but to all professions, trades, and pursuits that civilized man is engaged in. He is always in a triumph or a battle, and therefore loses sight constantly of the object he contends for ; the appetite for battle and emulation grows by what it feeds on :—at length confirmed habit persuades him that this state of angry and vicious excitement, this forced and exclusive development of all the animal propensities, is the only state of existence natural to him. Man is deeply to be commiserated for having been so long placed in so frightful, so debasing a position ; aware, as every intelligent mind must be, that his ‘character has been formed for him’ by the evil circumstances that his own original ignorance had contrived ; and above all, the tendency of permanent social laws and institutions, which chain down the human understanding to the invariable observance, age after age,

of a certain number of law-established errors and customs, leaving no scope for the exercise and expansion of his mind. Yet I must confess, tolerant and forbearing as this knowledge of the character being made for us forces one to be towards the general obliquity of the species, I am also compelled by my own particular organization to give a tenfold portion of my sympathy to the noble few who form the exception to this general character of mankind, and who are, from their great moral superiority, objects of constant enmity and oppression :

‘To fly from, need not be to hate mankind.’

But human society under its present mere animal aspect is armed with so tremendous a power to hurt, harm, wound, and oppress all those whom reason and benevolence have deprived of teeth and claws to fit them for the savage strife carried on under the mask of exterior refinement,—that to preserve one’s benevolence one should either possess power actively to serve mankind, or, denied this glorious privilege, resolutely to shun the withering atmosphere of social life as it is, which dries up all its generous and refreshing springs. But it is only through the education of public opinion that any real social reform can be effected; the first fruits of which will be an entire change in the present demoralizing system of commerce : for, till this gives place to the sound,

the equitable principle of Labour Exchange,—which is Nature's universal law,—no reflecting mind can look for any amelioration in the moral and intellectual character of mankind*. It is evident, therefore, that a physical change in the condition of man must precede the moral change which every sympathizing mind ardently wishes to see effected; and without some operation, some new and honest mode of traffic, which shall cauterize that plague-spot,—the present commercial system,—we may look in vain for human virtue

* “Mankind, we are told, are devoted to interest; and this, in all commercial nations, is undoubtedly true. But it does not follow that they are, by their natural dispositions, averse to society and mutual affection: proofs of the contrary remain, even where interest triumphs most. What must we think of the force of that disposition to compassion, to candour and good-will, which,—notwithstanding the prevailing opinion, that the happiness of man consists in possessing the greatest possible share of riches, preferments, and honours,—still keeps the parties who are in competition for those objects on a tolerable footing of amity, and leads them to abstain even from their own supposed good, when their seizing it appears in the light of a detriment to others? What might we not expect from the human heart in circumstances which prevented this apprehension on the subject of fortune; or under the influence of an opinion, as steady and general as the former, that human felicity does not consist in the indulgences of animal appetite, but in those of a benevolent heart; not in fortune or interest, but in the contempt of this very object,—in the courage and freedom which arise from this contempt, joined to a resolute choice of conduct, directed to the good of mankind, or to the good of that particular society to which the party belongs?”—FERGUSON *On Civil Society*.

and social harmony. Precept has ever fallen powerless before the rootedly sordid, mean, selfish, money-changing character which this wicked commercial system has given, with few exceptions, to every human being throughout the civilized world: and more particularly are its debasing effects conspicuous in our own country, where the principle has been pushed to its utmost limits. The system must cease; but the characters formed by it are made of sterner stuff, and can only yield to long habits of a purified practice. Individual knowledge, as I before observed, can do nothing for us but make us mourners over the victims we cannot save. This education of public opinion is,—thanks to the mighty mind with which it originated! (the founder of the new social system)—rapidly advancing; and we begin to taste its glorious results in the increased intelligence and the generous dispositions it has awakened in the few who have become acquainted with their own nature in this most humanizing school.

“It has been advanced by the enemies of the new social science,—and with too much semblance of truth,—that few among its professed adherents are really imbued with a knowledge of its principles, and still fewer disposed to adopt its practice, notwithstanding the number of years the doctrine has been publicly taught. This I be-

lieve to be the fact, and only verifies what I have said of the forlorn hope—precept. The human mind has never been trained to think, examine or compare, any two propositions, except on questions of money : habits of reflection have not only not been cultivated, but never permitted in two large divisions of the community,—the labouring poor, and women: every device has been resorted to, to keep down the intelligence of these two portions of the human race. Unremitting and harassing efforts to make out a bare and insufficient maintenance have ever been the compulsory and wretched lot of the working population. A constant domestic servitude, a laboured attention to frivolous and useless pursuits, under bitter and vexing controul,—not to speak of the excesses of oppression which man has, and can, under the sanction of the law, resort to,—has ever been the mind-extinguishing destiny of woman.

“ A science, taken as a whole, which requires a mental soil proper for its reception, can hardly be expected to take root easily in one that had so long remained inert, yielding only the rank and poisonous weeds of prejudice and error. No: the new social science is understood but by the very few ; the conception is too vast for ordinary capacities, formed, as the character has been, under the old and vicious system of society.

The first step, as I before observed, is to effect a change in the principle of commerce ; and every disqualifying taint in human character will gradually disappear, as the natural consequence of that change. We must not, however, expect too much from the present generation : all that can be reasonably required of it is, zealously and actively to set about the work of regeneration,—to tarry not, neither faint ‘or fall out by the way.’

“ But, if I may so express myself, we must be sober enthusiasts in a cause which may be accelerated by our individual efforts, but cannot be hurried on by our mere wishes. The human mind, subjected so long under the law of error, has much to unlearn before it can become a recipient for truth. Condillac justly remarks, ‘that in place of observing and examining whatever is necessary for us to know, (and amongst these, our instincts, our passions, and sympathies,) we have taken an imaginary view of them ; and, from one false supposition to another, we get bewildered in a multitude of errors : these errors becoming prejudices, we mistake them for principles ; and the abuse of words which we do not understand, we call the art of reasoning. When errors are thus accumulated,’ he adds, ‘ the only remedy left us is, to give an entirely new direction to the thinking faculty ; to forget all that we

have learned, and take up our ideas again at their original source.' This will always be more difficult with those who consider themselves most instructed : for this reason, works that treat of a new science with great precision are more readily understood by the unlearned than by the learned : indeed, we have abundant proof that freshness, vigour of intellect, and an aptitude to enter upon the study of unexplored truth, do not come from our seminaries of education.

“The most curious anomaly consequent upon a public opinion, founded upon the laws and institutions of a country, is, that every one who has the power acts upon a private opinion, in direct opposition to this law-erected public opinion ; and those who act most in violation of it, are those who are most strenuous in maintaining the false and hypocritical public opinion that exists : thus showing, that law is only preserved as an instrument of punishment for those who are not by rank, wealth, or influence, privileged to defy it.

“Surely nothing but ignorance, and the moral cowardice which it engenders, could induce men to hold a public and private opinion, each in direct contradiction of the other ! Truth can never be at variance with itself : it has no conflicting tenets : it is one and the same under every variety of form. If the private opinion, and its

consequent practice, promote individual and general happiness, or promote the first without injury to the other, then is the problem of human happiness solved. But rational beings can never maintain a public opinion at variance with the sentiments, feelings, and general private practice of mankind. While such things are, we must not boast of the moral and intellectual advance of our species ; nor must we wonder at the vice, crime, poverty, hypocrisy, and divisions which pervade all society. Can we be reconciled to the continuance of degradation, and the moral deformity forced upon us, capable as we are of all that is good and excellent, and contrary to the aspiration of every thinking being which desires to feel itself an ‘emanation of the all-beauteous Mind’? How long must we repeat, with the virtuous Lavalette,—‘When one witnesses the corruption and horrors that have reigned for so long a time upon the earth, the heart is rent by a sort of despair ; one curses civilization, and blushes at being a man!’ Public opinion is at present in a state vacillating between right and wrong ; or rather it is convinced of its error, but has not knowledge sufficient to adopt decided principles. Vague and barbarous notions of liberty still exist with many, who conceive that violent opposition to what is wrong is the shortest way to the attainment of what is

right. Experience has shown us the fallacy of this opinion. Knowledge is the only safe road to liberty: and an instructed people will always obtain what it desires by the irresistible appeal of moral union; whereas the bloody triumphs of an irritated and ignorant populace end in riveting the chains they had for a moment torn asunder. 'What,' asked a splendid orator* who lately lectured at the 'Temple of Truth,'—'what is liberty? It is but a starting point: the benign medium which leads men to good.' To good or ill, I would have added, according to the knowledge or ignorance they start with. All good proceeds from knowledge amply diffused; all evil, from general ignorance.

"The only idea I can form of true and rational liberty, consists in the full development and free exercise of all the faculties of human beings: by this the equilibrium is maintained throughout, and the irregularity of any prevented. The full development and free exercise of all his powers is the self-regulating law of man's nature: rightly educated, he requires no other. All others are pernicious; render him vicious and absurd,—an idiot or a knave,—a slave or a tyrant; or, if none of these, a miserable and unhappy being.

"Those alone deserve liberty who know its value; those fit only to possess it who un-

* Mr. Rowland Detrosier.

derstand its true and equitable nature. Liberty becomes a tyrant unless possessed by all. It is the soul of a community ; its body is universal knowledge. Without liberty, there can be no virtue : without knowledge, there can be no liberty. But it should never be forgotten, that if ' knowledge is power,' power only ceases to be dangerous when held by the instructed many*. Benevolence and all the virtues are the immediate offspring of knowledge. I would define Benevolence to be the love of order, of universal harmony, and of moral grandeur. Sympathy, so justly insisted upon by philanthropists as the humanizing link which unites our common nature, is inherent in all, if not destroyed by vicious training and circumstances, which it almost invariably is. But sympathy, taught as a precept, is utterly useless : it is a sentiment to be awakened in us by an affinity of tastes, a consciousness of the same wants, experience of the same enjoyments. How, then, can sympathy exist amongst mankind in a state of society where each individual is confined to his own limited sphere, out of which he must not—cannot

* " It is better to allow philosophy to be universal than to become a philosopher. The wreath that belongs to a fame of this order will be woven from the best affections of mankind : its glory will be the accumulated gratitude of generations."—
E. LYTTON BULWER *On the Progress of Knowledge*.

move? and the weal or woe of which position is utterly unknown, because never experienced by the others in their respective spheres? We ask too much of men and women, when we require them to have sympathy with each other under all existing circumstances. That which divides our destiny breaks, scatters, and destroys our natural sympathies.

“I have imperceptibly been led into this philosophical digression from my original subject, the late William Thompson; but Your Lordship will, I hope, excuse me: whatever relates to the interests of our species is indeed for ever interwoven with it. Mr. Thompson has left a noble example to the world in the disposal of his property. Without family ties,—such as wife and children, (whose claims must have superseded all others,)—he has placed his property in the hands of thirteen trustees, to become a perpetual fund in aid of Cooperative Communities, the establishment of Infant Schools, and the propagation of those truths he so ably developed in his writings.

“The principles he there sets forth are all he contends for. He was no bigot to the infallibility of his own plans: these he knew must vary according to the increasing knowledge of mankind. But his principles can never vary, because built on eternal truth. The peculiarities of Mr. Thompson were those of a man who passed more of his

time in study than in society, and more with his own thoughts than with books. This habit of mental exercise gave to his writings, perhaps, the vigour, the concentration, and, if I may so express myself, the massive character of style which sometimes fatigues the reader by the constant and ever-active attention required to follow the author in his reasoning. One seeks in vain amidst the solid pile of his ideas for a resting-place in any of the lighter graces or ornaments of style: but for this all inquiring minds are amply compensated in the truths put forth, and cheered onward in their study by the earnest and ardent benevolence of the writer. Mr. Thompson had rather a contempt for what is generally considered a fine style. Truth, he believed, required no borrowed ornament to set it off; and the test for him of all good writing was a correct knowledge of the subject written upon, and to express our thoughts in clear, simple, and forcible terms. His habits were æconomical and abstemious to a proverb, the malady under which he laboured, perhaps from infancy, requiring a very strict regimen; so that a few roots or herbs supplied him with all the luxuries his medical advisers permitted for his daily repast. He was an admirer of painting and sculpture, considering the great moral influence these two branches of the fine arts might be made to hold over society. Poetry

he had little respect for, even when it bore upon philosophic subjects:—this distaste he felt in common with his friend Mr. Bentham. Both these philosophers conceived (perhaps not unjustly,) that, in the present stage of human existence, subjects of more vital importance should engage the attention of mankind; and that the imaginative faculty, all-elevating and luminous as it is, often proves itself ‘the light that leads astray,’ and should therefore, like the solar orb, having performed its round, find its allotted period for setting as well as rising. Mr. Thompson, absorbed as he was in his philosophical pursuits, was not so unconscious as might be supposed to the desolation of single life. He loved companionship; but his generous feelings and his sense of justice revolted against the system that would make him master of a slave, ignorant, and docile to his will; obedient through custom and superstition; serving through fear and necessity, rather than from a well-defined and rational affection. Preferring the interest of humanity to all narrow selfish considerations, he boldly and nobly opposes himself to existing prejudices, in his ‘Appeal of Women’; and there, under the sacred banner of Truth, he contends for the equal rights of both sexes, with a courage and rectitude of judgement worthy of admiration; if, indeed, the public mind was as yet suf-

ficiently advanced to admire the sound philosophy, as well as wide philanthropy, which brings the outcast female sex within the pale of humanity and social consideration. The women of England, accustomed beyond all others to mental bondage, hold only such opinions as their masters dictate for their own selfish ends : these opinions have continued the same in kind and number for hundreds of years. Thus the Procrustes bed of male despotism has set up a standard measure for all women's minds : taller or shorter no one must be than another ; and the extreme diminutive is the approved model, which none shall dare appear to exceed with impunity. Guess, then, what must be the social effects of such mental stagnation ! What stupidity, what folly, vice and madness, must pervade all classes of our boasted civilization ! Under such withering circumstances can man himself easily become wiser and better ? No, it is not in the nature of things that he should. He is, then, the victim of his own half-witted, miserable conspiracy against half the human race. The clog is around his neck ; he drags on a lengthening chain, perverted and perverting all the best uses of this life, compelled to exercise the noble faculties bestowed on him by Nature upon objects the most worthless, and

pursuits at once degrading and inimical to his own happiness.

“The women of England—(I blush while I unwillingly repeat)—the women of England, in those days of intellectual resurrection, will be the last in Europe who will feel grateful to their benefactor; but are the first, indeed the only women who affect a slavish and ignorant repugnance to peruse the ‘Appeal of Women.’ With Shelley, Mr. Thompson would exclaim,

‘ Shall man be free, while woman is a slave ?’

He supported his arguments in favour of equal rights for the sexes, by proving this inequality to be one of the most fruitful sources of the ignorance, folly, crime, vice, and poverty which afflict society. The anti-social system that confines the sympathies of two human beings to the mere consideration of their own happiness and personal interest, he shows, tends to repress and stultify all the best feelings of our nature; and thus destroying the elasticity, the variety, the freshness, the ardour, and vigour of mind which constitutes the charm of human character, necessarily dries up all the sources of domestic happiness. Its pernicious influence in preparing a sordid, selfish, unintellectual national character, is too obvious and cannot be controverted.

“ However desirous Mr. Thompson might have been to unite himself with an intelligent being on principles of perfect equality of rights, (without which there can be no equality of mind,)—a being accustomed to self-government and following only the moral law of her nature, requiring no other controul than that which the constant exercise of all the faculties will necessarily impose on the irregularity of any one impulse or inclination,—but in the difficulty a philanthropist, of all men, must experience to find (as society is now constituted,) that first of human blessings, a delightful, intellectual, rational female companion, whose tastes, opinions, and pursuits corresponded with his own, (for this, after all, is the secret for creating and consolidating a true and lasting friendship,)—he resigned himself to a philosophical necessity, and remained single. He approved of and revered the woman who, when no other obstacles existed but unequal marriage-laws, would refuse to be the legalized servant of any man, whatever might otherwise be his merit and pretensions. Indeed, to all elevated minds the lawful and unlawful union of the sexes will appear equally degrading, not only to the sex which both positions are meant to debase and humiliate, but in their brutalizing effects on the male character,—checking at once all man’s natural perception of justice and moral

dignity, together with those graces of mind and manner which constitute a rational and a social being.

“All men whom knowledge has raised above their merely animal nature feel and suffer from the happiness-destroying principle of these two positions,—two, indeed, of the most prominent monstrosities of our vice-creating social system. Yet such is the stupifying effect of this system, that few men have moral courage sufficient openly to denounce their own demoralizing, unequal marriage-law, and still more unhallowed breach or contempt of it, for which they satisfy their conscience by branding with a double degradation their unlicensed female associates ; thus, as I before observed, maintaining a hypocritical public opinion in direct opposition to their practice. Could the demon of vice and discord invent a more successful plan for keeping man ignorant, barbarous, and wicked, the enemy of his species, the scourge and terror of the weak, the slave and victim of the strong, the humble tool of power?—and all this because man has been so trained as to prevent his appealing to his own reason to decide on the right or wrong of any of his actions : he is therefore the sport of all the contradictions of the false standards he has set up in his laws and institutions, and the ignorant public opinion which

maintains them. Mr. Thompson was still young, perhaps not more than fifty, when death terminated his useful career. The malady which preyed upon him, he was aware, must at no very distant period carry him off. Sometimes, after a violent paroxysm of coughing, he would say playfully,—‘Ah ! I would, if possible, live for ever,—be for ever young, active, useful, and joyous ; but, as it is, I must make the best and most of a short life.’ This he seems to have done : and while the perishable form that holds the elastic mind of man yielded to decay, our lamented philanthropist seems to have thrown his spirit into the whole social body, and there multiplied and perpetuated his own existence in anticipating the future happiness and ever-increasing improvement in the condition of humanity at large. The first successful community that shall be erected to serve as a model for others, will be the monument the most fitting and appropriate that a grateful public can raise to perpetuate the memory of a devoted friend,—the benevolent William Thompson.

“I remain, my Lord,

“With great respect and esteem,

“VLASTA.”

Fitzosborne.—The letter is highly interesting and characteristic of the writer ; few had better

opportunities of being acquainted with Mr. Thompson, or were so competent to appreciate his elevated sentiments, as Vlasta.

Bertrand.—This letter is, I presume, written by the lady I have often heard you speak of? Is the assumed name to be found anywhere in history?

Fitzosborne.—Vlasta is the name of a Swedish lady mentioned by the Abbé Gregoire in his Work entitled—“*De l’Influence du Christianism sur la Condition des Femmes*,” who there observes, “*Les femmes elles-même, suppléant à la force par l’adresse, ont tenté quelquefois de franchir les limites qui leur sont tracées. On connaît l’histoire de Vlasta, qui, au commencement du sixième siècle, entreprit en Bohême d’émanciper entièrement son sexe de toute subordination à l’autre; et qui, à la tête d’une armée de femmes, après sept ans de combats, périt les armes à la main*.*”

Bertrand.—Humboldt, I think, relates a similar attempt on the part of some women in America. I recollect copying an extract from his Travels in a French author†.

Lady Hampden.—Neither women nor men will ever gain in battle anything worth having, and

* P. Dubravii *Historia Bohemica*: fol. Basileæ 1575.

† “M. de Humboldt nous apprend que dans quelques parties de l’Amérique les femmes, lassées de l’esclavage imposé par

least of all in these times. Even the war of words should cease; and although there may have been formerly, as Lord Hampden has informed me, a difference of opinion between you three friends as to the best plan for promulgating truth, I hope that you are now agreed upon the only efficacious mode of inducing every salutary reform, and are convinced that conciliatory language and amicable overtures can alone prevail.

Bertrand.—Such would be the spirit of your advice, were you admitted to the national councils.

Lady Hampden.—Ladies would shrink from the idea of becoming conspicuous in political and judicial capacities.

Fitzosborne.—But in the government of the Society of Friends there is no distinction of sexes: nothing but custom and a suitable education of women is required to reconcile all to this necessary innovation. If women had had a voice in the legislature, the condition of the people, and the improvement of their children, would long since have claimed due attention, and the obstacles impeding their amelioration would have been overcome.

Lady Hampden.—The cause of women cannot

les hommes, s'étaient réunies comme les nègres fugitifs. Le désir de l'indépendance les avait rendues guerrières. Mais le célèbre voyageur veut qu'en admettant ces faits comme véridiques on se défie de récits exagérés."

want an efficient advocate while such writers as Mrs. Leman Grimstone hold the pen.

Fitzosborne.—Her novel of “Woman’s Love” gave promise of future excellence. An able and judicious critic pronounced it a work full of varied excellence, and further observed, that her touching story of “The Little Cotton-spinner” should have been republished by the friends of the Factory Bill; it is indeed distinguished by a pathos and truth of description that might challenge a comparison with our ablest writers. The idea of a postscript to a novel is new, but is in itself attractive. Relating chiefly to the condition of women in society, her sentiments are more free from partizanship than the works hitherto published on the subject.

Lady Hampden.—I have been anxious to see that work, since the perusal of “Character.”

Fitzosborne.—“Character” has received almost universal commendation. Periodicals, supposed to be influenced by different views, political and religious, have united in its praise.

Bertrand.—It would be difficult to find in it any sentiment adverse either to religion or sound philosophy. One of the Reviews recommends the life of Mrs. Inchbald to her delineation of character; but if she would produce a work on the necessity of a superior intellectual and moral education of women, illustrating it by anecdotes

of the most distinguished characters in history, it would, besides supplying a want in the literary world, afford an opportunity of saying all that is useful upon the present position of females in society.

CHAPTER XI.

"I found a stream among the hills by night ;
Its source was hidden, and its end unknown :
I thought not of its source, nor of its ending ;
'T was but the mirror of enchanting things,
Where heaven and earth, their softest graces blending,
Own'd the new world that from their union springs.
Thus be my soul Truth's purified abode !
Whence or for what I am—is thine, O God !"

ANONYMOUS.

THE first Session of the Reformed Parliament was drawing rapidly to a close without any measures that were generally satisfactory having been adopted. The Lords had rendered themselves particularly obnoxious by frustrating even those limited reforms which the Government had proposed, but which were at the same time so inadequate to the hopes and the expectations of the country. By their vote on the question of the Foreign policy, the House of Lords had exposed, in a decisive manner, their repugnance to the more liberal system upheld by the Commons. The concise reproof of the King's reply to the former, presented a singular contrast to the courteous dignity of his reception of the latter. It was in reference to this question that His Majesty is said to have remonstrated with the

Bishops upon their interference on party questions of state policy, as incompatible with the peaceful character of their duties. Nothing daunted by the marked expression of the public opinion, the Lords persevered in their desperate course of hostility to measures so obviously popular, that the friends of order began to fear the consequences of a collision between the two Houses. Lord Hampden himself anticipated an open rupture; and this added strength to his resolution of seceding from the House of Peers. Coldly regarded by the Whigs, who deemed him impracticable, and contemned by the Tories, he had been baffled in his repeated attempts to introduce bills of vital importance. Having had several petitions for the adoption of a system of universal education intrusted to his care, he availed himself of the occasion of presenting them to announce his determination. Bertrand and myself were in the House that night, anxiously waiting for the moment when he was to deliver his farewell speech. Having presented the petitions, which were ordered to lie on the table, he proceeded as follows :—

“As the present is the last occasion upon which I shall have the honour of addressing Your Lordships, I rely upon your accustomed indulgence while explaining the motives which prompt my retirement, and which have also determined

me to relinquish for ever honours so recently inherited. In order that these motives may be justly appreciated, it will be necessary for me to advert briefly to the circumstances of my early life.

“Soon after I had entered upon my studies at College, I renewed with greater avidity an acquaintance with the classic authors. Then it was that for the first time my admiration was excited by the celebrated names adorning the annals of the Grecian commonwealths. In the ardour of youth, I delighted to travel in imagination to the scenes where Plato taught, and Socrates encountered death; to ascend the tribunal of the Areopagus, or linger on the plains of Marathon. When I beheld philosophers and heroes exerting the energies of a loftier nature, and appearing like gods upon the earth, I still remembered that they were but men, and I longed for a field of enterprise upon which to emulate their immortal deeds.

“While contemplating the commencement of a brilliant career, and elated with the hope of great renown, the awful, but hitherto unheeded truths of religion suddenly aroused my attention. I felt that if they were of any importance, they were all-important, and must reign supreme,—that the claims of Christianity would admit of no compromise, no respect of persons*, no local

* “It will be easily seen that this separation between the clergyman and the humbler portion of his charge, and which

preferences, and were utterly repugnant to the devastation and barbarity of war*. Inculcating a benevolence too expansive for patriotism, a morality too sublime for the petty objects of rival states, in proclaiming the universal brotherhood of man, it opened to his view a boundless theatre of action : if the fears of evil-doers were alarmed, the promise of an eternity of glory was held forth as the triumph of the successful champion. Before celestial attributes, every sublunary object shrunk to its true dimensions : the wreath of the conqueror, and the proudest trophies of victory, appeared trifling and puerile in contrast with the

is so peculiar to England, is the result of the same influence visible throughout the whole workings of the social system. The aristocratic doctrine which makes it so imperiously necessary for clergymen to be ‘gentlemen,’—which makes the pastor a member of an aristocratic profession,—renders him subject to all the notions of the aristocracy : it makes him passionless in the pulpit, but decorous in his habits; and it fits him rather, not to shock the prejudices of the drawing-room, than to win the sympathies of the cottage.”—*England and the English*, by E. L. Bulwer, Esq.

* “I abominate war as unchristian,—I hold it to be the greatest of human crimes,—I deem it to include all others,—violence, blood, rapine, fraud, everything that can deform the character, alter the nature, and debase the name of man. There is one case only which can justify it,—there is one occasion only which makes it other than a crime,—that is, self-defence. Our own defence, or the defence of our country, and nothing else, on no other terms, is war anything but a sin.”—*Speech of the Lord Chancellor, when Mr. Brougham, at York County Election.*

prize of high calling, of transcendent worth, and of endless duration.

“Such reflections were calculated to inflame a mind, which, however faltering in purpose, was ever ardent in its aspirations; and although seriously impressed with the deep responsibility of the sacred office, I resolved upon preparing for the ministry. For a time I toiled with the schoolmen, and was lost in the painful perplexities of theological research. I saw them wearing away days and nights in the bitterness of contention, until that spirit of charity which could alone confer value upon their labours had entirely departed.

“I looked for that Christianity which had won my admiration: but I looked in vain; its simple majesty was enveloped in mysteries—its pure and lovely doctrines were supplanted by stern and overbearing dogmas—its persuasive eloquence by fierce and alarming denunciations; but, despite of the unhallowed zeal of bigotry and superstition, faith in the capacity of man for higher enjoyments, and in the power of the holy precepts of religion to purify his affections and elevate his views, was too deeply rooted ever to be removed. Wearied with vain speculations regarding the divine essence and the ceremonies of the law, I turned from the polemic to consult the page of history. There I learnt that the mould in which

the characters of all were cast was formed by education and political institutions ; that the lineaments of each generation were defined by its predecessor, where it existed in embryo, and by which it would be developed. Struck with this important truth, a conflict disturbed my mind, now doomed to undergo another revolution. A system of rewards and punishments I could no longer conscientiously advocate ; for if the feelings and thoughts were the consequence of organization and of the circumstances under which the faculties are developed, how could man be responsible for the direction of his sympathies or the convictions of his understanding?*

“ Recollecting that the only criterion of truth was its invariable consistency,—that if rewards and punishments were unjust and wrong in principle, neither could they be attended with benefit in practice,—I examined diligently their effects. In all countries and in all times both had occasioned wide-spread mischief, and both had diminished the superior agency of sympathy. Rewards had excited selfishness, vanity, pride, ambition, tyranny, antipathy, envy, and contempt. Punishments had produced hatred, revenge, ma-

* Epictetus used to say, that one of the vulgar in any ill that happens to him, blames others ; a novice in philosophy blames himself ; and a philosopher blames neither the one nor the other.

lice, and all uncharitableness. In their justification I was reminded that as the world had hitherto been governed by one system, to that alone were we indebted for all our knowledge; but, my Lords, these imperfect instruments, so far from accelerating, had impeded the progress of the human mind, which waited the impulse of higher motives before it could display its more powerful and its noblest energies.

“Another argument was adduced in its support. ‘God himself,’ it was alleged, ‘had given length of happy days to the temperate and virtuous, and afflicted with pain and grief the intemperate and vicious.’ And because a penalty has been annexed to every deviation from the path of rectitude, shall man, the feeble insect of an hour, dare to arraign the justice of the Deity, denounce his measure of punishment as insufficient, and cruelly aggravate the sufferings of the less favoured of his fellow-mortals? ‘Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord,’ is an announcement disregarded by the professors of a religion which earnestly exhorts men ‘to love one another,’ and who, by their temerity and presumption, have incapacitated themselves for yielding obedience to the chief commandment.

“Notwithstanding there were in the sacred volume some things hard to be understood and difficult to reconcile, I ceased not to drink of the

living waters. I meditated long on the writings of those who had looked far into futurity: they seemed to be the emanations of those master-spirits who, from the depth of their own feelings, had sent forth holy desires and bright anticipations with a power generated by that purity and affection which identified them with the humanity of all ages. They foresaw to what glorious results advancing knowledge, guided by the nobler feelings, would one day conduct the human race. Even now Morality, hitherto exposed to the dangers of an alliance with opinions vacillating and eternally contested, ranks by far the most important among the fixed sciences; and the time may not be far distant when Religion and Philosophy will deposit their offerings upon the same altar.

“Yes, my Lords, from the moment universal benevolence was discovered to be an innate but latent feeling in human nature, a principle was recognised competent to hold in subjection and to render subservient to its use all the faculties of man,—a principle which rewards could never excite, nor punishments altogether suppress; and which, in its careful development and judicious cultivation, would yield a solid and durable foundation for virtue and for happiness.

“Confident in the potency of this divine law, recollecting that to all the knowledge derived from the literature and philosophy of Greece and

Rome were added the vast accessions of the intervening period, and a religion of higher motives, is it wonderful that I should have entered society sanguine in the hope of beholding a corresponding superiority in private and public virtue? * Whence the degeneracy of which all complain? Are we to look to the infancy, and not to the experience of the world for whatever can improve and exalt the human race? But a spirit of inquiry was then abroad,—the people of distant countries had communed with each other,—anxious thoughts had been imparted,—the foundations of the social fabric were examined; and in

* “We are astonished to see how far the Greeks and Romans advanced in a few centuries, in their sphere of objects: for though the aim of their exertions was not always the most pure, they proved that they were capable of reaching it. Their image shines in history, and animates every one who resembles them, to similar and better exertions, under the same and greater assistance of fate. In this view the whole history of nations is to us a school for instructing us in the course by which we are to reach the lovely goal of humanity and worth. So many celebrated nations of old attained an inferior aim: why should not we succeed in the pursuit of a purer and more noble object? They were men like us; their call to the best form of humanity was ours, according to the circumstances of the times, to our knowledge, and to our duties. What they could perform without a miracle, we can and ought to perform: the Deity assists us only by means of our own industry, our own understanding, our own powers. When he had created the earth, and all its irrational inhabitants, he formed man, and said to him, ‘Be my image.’”—ST. PIERRE.

all were found dangerous defects, from which arose a multitude of afflicting evils. In a dark and barbarous age, institutions had been devised which severed man from man, and left each individual so isolated in the midst of his brethren, that neither the exhortations of the divine nor the terrors of the law could ever reunite them.

“Selfishness, prompted by ignorance and fanaticism, had called the lower faculties into exclusive and pernicious activity, grasping, monopolizing, and perverting the means of happiness*.

“In this extremity it was not to be expected that those who had succeeded to, or amassed, exorbitant riches, and exercised arbitrary sway, would relinquish without a struggle a just portion of their wealth or power ; the people therefore concluded that any reform, to be effectual, must originate with themselves ; and to Great Britain, as the furthest advanced in philosophy and science, the attention of all Europe, with intense interest, was directed for the first great effort of

* “ Dans la plûpart des nations Européennes, un homme n’est considéré qu’en vertu de sa race : la naissance seule donne le droit de prétendre à tout : les services réels ou prétendus des pères tiennent lieu de mérite et de vertu aux descendans. Il résulte de là que ceux qui sortent d’un sang que l’opinion révère, assurés d’avance des places et des récompenses, ne se donnent aucune peine pour acquérir les qualités nécessaires au bien-être de la société : il leur suffit d’être nés pour parvenir aux honneurs, à la considération, au crédit, à la faveur, et pour devenir les arbitres du sort des nations.” — DUMARSAIS.

reviving liberty. The conspicuous part which you, my Lords, took upon that memorable occasion, will not soon be forgotten: your rash but impotent opposition was resisted by a prompt demonstration of public feeling, so universally and boldly expressed, that what your sense of justice was too weak to grant, your fears conceded*. The continued opposition, so fretful and vexatious, to the redress of grievances condemned by your own committees, and the subject of loud complaint from the country at large, has roused a feeling of such aversion to this branch of the legislature, that the legitimacy and justice of your power are alike canvassed in every direction.

“And by what arguments can this unbounded power be maintained? Your relative numbers?

* “To those who object against amendment and reform, it is answered—A system that is never to be censured, will never be improved; if nothing is ever found fault with, nothing will ever be amended: a resolution to justify everything at any rate, and to disapprove nothing, is a resolution which, pursued in future, must stand as an effectual bar to all the additional happiness of which we are capable, and pursued hitherto, would have robbed us of that share of happiness we enjoy already: whatever now is establishment, once was innovation: every medicine, says Lord Bacon, is an innovation, and he that will not apply new remedies, must expect new evils; for time is the greatest innovator, and time of course alters things for the worse; and if wisdom and council may not re-alter them for the better, what must be the end?”—*An Essay on the Free Examination of the Laws of England*, by LEMAN THOMAS REDE.

They comprise the merest fraction of the community. Mental superiority? With the exception of the few who have 'done the state some service,' and whose very promotion may have rendered worse than useless their peculiar but distinguished talents, this assembly cannot boast even the average endowments of mankind. Your unmeaning forms, your cumbrous ceremonies, your blue ribands and glittering stars, must be classed with the frivolities and baubles of children, not with the indications of commanding intellect, or even with a sense of the dignity of human nature. To rest your defence upon the plea of an interest in the welfare of the people would be preposterous. Their condition is almost as unknown to you as that of the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands: shunning the sight of wretchedness, herding together in scenes which the cries of misery cannot reach, and surrounded by minions who, ministering to your voluptuous ease, denounce the rumours of distant distress and disturbance as false,—what guarantee have the people that their grievances are known, or, if known, that your sympathy could be awakened? If such had been their credulity, your recent conduct has dispelled the delusion. Not only have you deprived them of the means of existence, but in the abuse of those means, I have the authority of a Right Reverend Prelate for declaring, your very exam-

ple is their bane*. As little will it avail to recount the deeds of your ancestors. What though some of your emoluments and honours were acquired by their valour, have their virtues descended with their rewards? and if not, were those rewards bestowed by a generous and grateful country to purchase immunity for the vices of a degenerate posterity, or to enable them to sully the glory of brilliant achievements by holding up titles, bravely won, to public execration? The legitimate heirs of such titles and estates are those whose labours, whose property, and whose lives are now consecrated to the public good. Less honourable is the descent of those whose silly vanity vaunts the longest pedigree, and whose possessions constituted an unholy share in the plunder of a peaceful, unoffending race by bands of barbarians†. The source of some of your

* "It is difficult," said the Bishop of London, in his evidence before the Committee on Sabbath-breaking, "to estimate the degree in which the labours of the Christian ministry are impeded, especially in towns, by the evil example of the rich."

† In Matthew Carter's "Analysis of Honor and Armory," published in the year 1660, is the following remark. "To obtain the estate of gentility by learning and discovering the secrets of Heaven, is very honorable certainly; but to atchieve it by service in his sovereign's wars, the defence of the Church, King and Country, is of all most excellent and worthy. In which case war is permitted by the law of God, taught us by the law of Nature, and commanded by the laws of all nations!"

honours can never be contemplated without extreme disgust: its impurity is revolting at a single glance. A profligate monarch daringly violated that Decalogue he had sworn to respect, and which, as head of the Church, he had commanded his subjects to obey: not satisfied with this outrage on public decency, he offered a still grosser insult to the nation, and by elevating to the peerage the offspring of his guilty amours, he perpetuated the infamy of his example, and future generations were taxed for their support*.

‘ O that estates, degrees and offices
Were not deriv’d corruptly! and that clear honours
Were purchas’d by the merit of the wearer!
How many then should cover, that stand bare!
How many be commanded, that command!’

“And what, after all, my Lords, has been gained by enormous possessions and elevated rank? Slaves to fashion and to endless dissipation—*ennui*, satiety and disease are the bitter fruits. Those who delight in the unwieldy pomp of equipage and retinue, confine their capricious likings to a few whose sycophancy nourishes their worst prejudices, and feeds their solitary pride. Shut up in the gloomy grandeur of their castles†, debarred the pleasures of friendship or of

* See Appendix—M.

† When the Earl of Leicester was complimented upon the completion of his great design at Holkham, he replied, “It is a melancholy thing to stand alone in one’s country. I look

generous sympathy, unknown to them the purest and highest enjoyments of existence ; and when their proud and weary pilgrimage is past, no trace is left of any good they have effected for mankind*.

“From whatever origin your proud distinctions had sprung, they would have ceased long since to be an object of jealousy, had they been dedicated to your own and to the general welfare : but hereditary legislation—one of the greatest of evils, unsupported by reason, justice, or religion, —has succeeded in rendering selfishness more selfish, counselling the reservation of the patrimony for the eldest-born, who wastes it in prodigality and idle ostentation: while the younger branches, with their connexions, are pensioned on the public, or trained to the three professions of the Church, the Army, or the Law, all the contradictory maxims of which enable them by sophistry and chicanery to uphold your iniquitous system,—inducing thereby the multitude to rivet their own chains, to contribute to their

round,—not a house is to be seen but mine. I am the Giant of Giant Castle, and have eat up all my neighbours.”

* “When the celebrated Sultan Saladin died, in 1193, he left directions that on the day of his funeral a shroud should be borne on the point of a spear, and a herald proclaim in a loud voice, ‘Saladin, the conqueror of Asia, out of all the fruits of his victories, carries with him only this piece of linen.’”

—*History of Palestine.*

own degradation, and thus detain them in ignorance and bondage. Producing nothing, but possessing all, you condemn millions, to whom you are indebted for everything, to incessant, painful and laborious toil, and then bestow, as a favour and a condescension, a few of the crumbs that fall from your luxurious tables; in the mean time the religion preached by your dependents admonishes them to do their duty in that state of life into which it shall please God (not your rapacity) to call them*!

“Such is their lot in these halcyon days of peace : at other times, led forth by thousands and tens of thousands, to engage in murderous con-

* “Does the man who commences at six o'clock in the morning to break stones on the highway, and who, exposed to heat, cold or wet, as the heavens happen to send, labours at the occupation with only two hours' intermission, till six o'clock at night, for six days in the week, from youth to old age, appear to be employed like a rational being possessed of moral feeling and an immortal soul, sent into this world to cultivate and improve these powers, in order to fit him for a higher dignity and enjoyment hereafter? He appears more like a creature condemned to endure penance, but for what specific purpose it is not easy to discover. As the vivacity of his moral and intellectual powers depends on the condition of his brain, and as exposure to the rigour of a cold and variable climate, in the open air, tends, by the laws of nature, to impede the action of that organ, the first fact that strikes us is the direct contradiction betwixt the professed end of his existence,—viz. his moral and intellectual improvement—and the arrangement of his physical condition.”—*Anonymous*.

flict with other slaves equally deceived, their limbs are mangled for the glory of their country; the same religion is again at hand, and those ministers who, at a more convenient season, remind them that they should overcome evil with good, now bend the knee in supplication to a God of mercy and of peace, for victory to the Lord's anointed*!

“Worthy descendants of royal delinquents and illustrious brigands! Your inglorious and

* See Appendix—N. The following is an account of the installation of a Knight only a few years since. It is difficult to conceive by what species of reasoning the two Bishops and the Dean could justify the parts acted by themselves in this ridiculous ceremony. It is surely time that such nonsense were abolished.

“His Majesty and suite arrived at the palace in two carriages-and-four at three o'clock, escorted by a detachment of the Life Guards, and entered by the private entrance. Shortly after his arrival, the Earl of Chesterfield, as the lord-in-waiting, announced to the principal king-at-arms, that His Majesty was ready to hold the Chapter. The Knights being formed according to their seniority, the junior Knight being first, the procession moved forward from the room where they had assembled to the Council-room, where the King was to hold the Chapter. All the Knights were dressed in the superb robes of the Order. The King, who was dressed in his full robes as Sovereign of the Order, took his seat on a magnificent chair of crimson velvet, at the head of the table. The Knights, after making an obeisance to the Sovereign, took their seats at the table according to their order. The table had a covering of crimson velvet. The Chapter was then opened by the reading of the statute under which the Order is held. The Chancellor then declared to the Chapter that he was com-

disgraceful career is drawing to a close; the night of ignorance is far spent; the dawning of that day is at hand when the people of mighty empires, rising in their strength, will disarm their oppressors, and, as the lion shakes the dew-drops from his mane, your idle pretensions will disappear. Deriving their triumph from knowledge, its empire will be extended; they will then demean

manded by the Sovereign to inform them that it was his royal pleasure to fill up a vacant stall belonging to that noble Order, occasioned by the death of the late Earl of Liverpool.

“The principal king-at-arms, being then standing at the foot of the table, in his full robes, with his staff of office in his hand, retired to an adjoining room, and introduced the Earl of Ashburnham to the Sovereign. The Noble Earl then knelt on a crimson velvet cushion, when the King waved the sword of state over his head, by that ceremony conferring the honour of knighthood of the Noble Order of the Garter upon the Earl, on which occasion His Lordship had the honour to kiss His Majesty's hand. The Noble Earl, with the principal king-at-arms, then retired, making their obeisance. The Chancellor then collected from each knight, beginning with the Duke of Cumberland and finishing with the Duke of Richmond, their votes, which each knight had written upon a sheet of paper, and delivered them to the Sovereign, who, after examining them, ordered the Chancellor to declare in his name the Earl of Ashburnham duly elected a member of the Most Noble Order of the Garter. The Marquis of Exeter and the Duke of Richmond, the two junior knights, with the principal king-at-arms, then retired bowing, and introduced the Earl of Ashburnham, the principal king-at-arms carrying the garter, riband, and order, upon a crimson velvet cushion, all of them making obeisances as they approached the Sovereign. On their arrival at the head of the table, the Duke of Cumberland and the

themselves lowly and reverently to all their betters, but not to you: loyal to the Sovereignty of truth and justice, respectful to the Nobility of vir-

Duke of Gloucester introduced the Noble Earl to the Sovereign; the Earl then knelt on his right knee, when the King was graciously pleased to place the Order of the Garter on the left. The Noble Earl then rose, and the Chancellor pronounced the following admonition:—

“To the honour of God omnipotent, and in memorial of the blessed martyr St. George, tie about thy leg for thy renown this noble Garter; wear it as the symbol of the most illustrious Order, never to be forgotten or laid aside; that thereby thou mayest be admonished to be courageous; and having undertaken a just war, in which thou shalt be engaged, thou mayest stand firm, valiantly fight, and successfully conquer.’

“The Noble Earl then knelt upon his right knee again, when the Sovereign was pleased to place the blue riband upon his left shoulder: after the Earl rose, the following admonition was pronounced:—

“Wear this riband about thy neck, adorned with the image of the blessed martyr and soldier of Christ, St. George, by whose imitation provoked, thou mayest so overpass both prosperous and adverse adventures, that having constantly vanquished thy enemies, both of body and soul, thou mayest not only receive the praise of this transient combat, but be crowned with the palm of eternal victory.’

“Each Knight then shook hands with the Earl, and congratulated him upon his election. The Chapter then broke up.

“The officers of the Order who assisted at the imposing ceremony, were the Bishop of Winchester (as Prelate of the Order), the Bishop of Salisbury (as Chancellor), the Dean of Windsor (as Registrar), Sir G. Nayler (as Garter Principal King-at-Arms), and the Usher of the Black Rod.

“Messrs. Mash and Martin were the Gentlemen Ushers in waiting. Mr. Woods, of the Herald’s College, was also in attendance.”

tue*, they will invest by a grateful remembrance their benefactors with the highest distinction,—that of the Order of Humanity †.

“But, my Lords, ere this period arrives, you may be exposed to fearful and dangerous revulsions. Salutary reforms and, above all, improved education, have been so long delayed, that the people will acquire irresistible power sooner than the wisdom essential to its benignant exercise. You must now submit to their ill-informed demands, and your submission will end in disappointment. You may be compelled to abolish tithes, and the people will not be relieved; you may reduce taxation, and their wants will not be supplied‡; you may alter the currency, and com-

* “Whoever is disposed to do good,” said Epicharmus, “is noble, though his mother were an Ethiopian.”

† “We have already said, that it is the essence of all qualities to characterize and distinguish. And hence the origin of the phrase, ‘a person of quality,’ that is to say, a person distinguished from the vulgar by his valour, his wisdom, or some other capital accomplishment. As these were the primary sources of those external honours, paid to eminent men in precedences, titles, and various other privileges, it followed that these honours, by degrees, grew to represent the things honoured; so that as virtue led originally to rank, rank in after days came to infer virtue; particular ranks, particular virtues; that of a Prince, *Serenity*; of an Ambassador, *Excellence*; of a Duke, *Grace*; of a Pope, *Holiness*; of a Justice or Mayor, *Worship*,” &c.—HARRIS, *Philosophical Arrangements*.

‡ From the following paragraph, which appeared in the newspapers in the month of June 1833, the amount of taxes and

merce will not be improved ; you may promote free trade until all the barriers separating nation from nation are destroyed, and the remuneration for labour will still decline. Scientific power, equivalent to an overwhelming supply of labour, will saturate all the markets of Europe, and directly or indirectly reducing the value of every species of employment, aggravate the evils of competition, by adding to the riches and cares of the few, and spreading in all countries more widely, poverty and misery among the many*.

“But as the nation is most indignant against

duties as stated in page 176 of this volume is underrated at least twelve millions.

“An account has been printed by order of the House of Commons of the gross and net amount of all taxes repealed, expired or reduced in each year since the termination of the war; and also, of all taxes imposed in the same period, showing the several articles on which the alterations of duty were made, together with an estimate of the amount or increase of duty upon each article. This return does not include the reductions of the present year. It appears that the gross estimated amount of taxes repealed since the close of the war is £45,345,529. The estimated gross produce of the taxes imposed in the same time is £5,836,110, leaving a balance of taxes reduced, above those imposed, of about £36,500,000. Of the taxes so reduced, about £9,000,000 have been custom duties, £14,000,000 excise duties, and above £18,500,000 the property and assessed taxes.”

* “We view with considerable anxiety the project entertained by the framework knitters of another general strike. Such measures are always productive of the most intense distress, and the hard-working, honest, labouring poor, are, in

the Spiritual Lords for lending the sanction of their holy religion to capricious and arbitrary measures, the expulsion of the bench of Bishops will probably precede the downfall of your power. And why, my Reverend Lords, are you here, if not to purify the fountain head whence should issue all of social good?—if not to fix upon every act of the legislature the sacred seal of Christianity?—if not to abrogate every law, and remodel every institution, the tendency of which is not harmoniously blended with its influence and its objects? In a celebrated work adopted as your text book at the Universities, it is expressly declared, that ‘no usage, law, or authority whatever, is so binding that it need or ought to be continued, when it may be changed with advantage to the community. The family of the prince, the order of succession, the prerogative of the crown, the form and parts of the legislature, together with the respective powers, office, duration, and mutual dependency of the several parts, are only so many *laws* mutable like other laws, whenever

such cases, the greatest sufferers. We hope some means will be devised to avoid so great a calamity: while, on the one hand, we know the workmen are labouring 16 and 18 hours a day for a miserable pittance; on the other hand, it must be acknowledged that the hosiers find great difficulty in effecting sales, even at the present low prices, in consequence of the pressure of foreign competition.”—*Nottingham Review*, copied into the *Times*, March 13, 1833.

expediency requires, either by the ordinary act of the legislature, or, if the occasion deserves it, by the interposition of the *people**.’

“Had you been seen traversing the streets and lanes in which squalid poverty has too long dwelt; marking the decayed and dangerous dwellings; commiserating the crowds of children growing up amidst filth and every corrupt influence; bringing to light unobtrusive misery; and, struck with the mass of hidden wretchedness, had continually pressed upon a legislature professing Christianity, the imperative duty of prompt assistance,—who can for a moment doubt that such paternal conduct would have so far secured the affection and veneration of the people,—and of the better part of the aristocracy too,—that ignorant pride and vainglorious ambition must have bowed to the ascendancy of your moral power? And think ye, my Lords, that you would have exceeded the duties of a bishop?—that if you had done all this, you would have performed a tithe of what your Lord and Master, or any of his Apostles, would have done†? Search the records

* PALEY’S *Philosophy*.

† The Bishops may well have their fears as to the security of their position. How much of *spiritual* concern is manifested in the following debate!

The Marquis of Westminster presented a petition from Welshmen who complained “that considerable inconvenience

of all past times, and say, whether in the darkest ages, or in the most barbarous countries, a single instance can be found of such extensive and remorseless cruelty inflicted upon the rising generation as is detailed in the Report of the Committee on the Bill to regulate the labour of children. The disciples of him who said ‘Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not,’ may well recoil at the bare recital of the fact that thousands of children, in a country eager for the spread of Christianity beyond the seas, are consigned to pestilential employments, barbarous treatment, decrepitude, and premature death; and yet, to your everlasting disgrace, has this evil

was felt in consequence of the bishops appointed to Sees within the Principality, and a portion of the inferior clergy, being ignorant of the Welsh language. The petitioners also complained of non-residence on the part of the clergy, and the number of pluralities existing in Wales.”

The Bishop of Bangor.—It was true he was himself ignorant of the Welsh language, but then his chaplain was not. As to the charge against the Welsh bishops that they spent the revenues of their Sees out of the Principality, he would only observe, that he had yet to learn that bishops had not as much right to spend their incomes where they pleased as any noble lord in that house to spend his rents where he pleased.

The Bishop of St. Asaph.—He was rather surprised that the Noble Marquis, if he had any regard for the preservation of his own property, should support attacks against the Church. Had he no fear that the same sort of spoliation would soon be recommended with regard to the possessions of laymen?—*Times*, March 30, 1833.

been increasing for nearly half a century, without one effort on your part to stay the plague*. No doubt you deem this language too severe,—not sufficiently deferential. My Lords, the least of these little ones is of greater value than the proudest peer in this assembly.

“ But in no respect has your apathy at one time, and your obstruction at another, been more pernicious than in the sacred cause of education. Lancaster, though persecuted at every step, advanced; and when a victory was gained, Dr. Bell was sent forth to share, or rather to claim, the triumph. Infant Schools, even now deemed by some of your body of doubtful utility, met a similar fate: as they could not be suppressed, they were spoiled; and, as if to confirm the conclusions of the sceptical, for the culture of the affections and a knowledge of facts you have substituted dark and mysterious doctrines, to alarm the innocence of childhood and crush its

* In Warrington there is a pin manufactory, in which there are fifteen frames for heading. At each frame four persons, chiefly children, are employed, in a sitting posture: the right hand is used in placing the pin under the hammer, and the left in taking it away, while the foot works the treddle which lifts the weight, about fourteen pounds. In this occupation the poor creatures are kept from six in the morning till half-past eight or nine at night; and they are not allowed to speak to each other, or to withdraw their eyes from their work. Some of these young slaves are under eight, and others under seven years of age.

reasoning powers. A College was desired for the youth of the metropolis—Oxford and Cambridge were pronounced sufficient: the London University, however, was established, and those who averred that two were adequate, instituted a fourth!

“The most illustrious of the Roman emperors said, ‘It is the moral education that completes the man and constitutes his greatness.’ How far the public schools for the rich as well as for the poor, have under your auspices contributed to the moral elevation of society, the present confusion and apprehended conflicts too woefully attest*.

* *Choice of a Schoolmaster.*—After urging the importance of securing an efficient body of elementary teachers for our public schools, the Committee of the British and Foreign School Society, in their Report for this year, quote the following anecdote:—“The very lowest grade of mental acquirements is too often considered quite sufficient for a primary school. The following characteristic scene, which is extracted from the ‘Memoirs of Oberlin,’ may unhappily find a parallel in some English villages. When Stouber, the predecessor of Oberlin, first went to the Ban-de-la-Roche, he began by inquiring into the manner of education there. Asking for the principal school, he was conducted to a miserable hovel, where there were a number of children crowded together without any occupation, and in so wild and noisy a state, that it was with some difficulty he could get a reply to his inquiries for the master. ‘There he is,’ said one of them as soon as silence could be obtained, and pointing to a withered old man who lay on a little bed in one corner of the apartment. ‘Are you the schoolmaster, my good friend?’ inquired Stouber. ‘Yes, sir.’ ‘And what do you teach the children?’ ‘Nothing, sir.’ ‘Nothing! how

Had education been conducted in a right spirit, the whole empire would long since have tacitly resolved itself into a 'Peace Society' actively disseminating important truths and friendly feelings: millions would have risen in defence against foreign aggression, had they failed to kindle congenial desires for improvement in neighbouring states. But the necessity for mutual interposition would have ceased; for recollect, my Lords, that the most effectual method of allaying the intestine divisions of other countries is by setting an example of justice in your own.

"Persecution for opinion's sake is the besetting sin of sectarianism, but more especially of those sects in alliance with Governments. From the days when Galileo, Servetus and Harvey were the victims of this odious vice, it has not ceased to suspend its terrors over the paths of useful investigation. It is true that the advanced intelligence of the age revolts at the infliction of the rack, the torture, and the Inquisition; but there is still in reserve for the conscientious but ardent inquirer, whose love of human-kind carries him beyond the bounds prescribed by popular

is that?' 'Because,' replied the old man, with characteristic simplicity, 'I know nothing myself.' 'Why then were you instituted schoolmaster?' 'Why, sir, I had been taking care of the Waldbach pigs for a great number of years, and when I got too old for that employment, they sent me here to take care of the children.'"

opinions, a punishment which to the sensitive mind is more painful than corporeal suffering itself. Reproach, contumely and exclusion are his portion ; and the cry of infidelity is raised, perhaps by those who have set all moral rules at defiance, against him who is fulfilling his highest duty by enlarging the boundaries of science, and more particularly of that science which must at no distant period raise the wretched to their just rank in the scale of created beings. *Hoc maxime officii est, ut quisque maxime opis indigeat, ita ei potissimum opitulari.* But the fate of the individual, however deplorable, sinks into nothing in comparison with the injury done to society.

“Progression is a law of our nature. The Deity has decreed that the welfare and happiness of man shall be achieved by successive discoveries. As all truths are illuminated by mutual reflection, and allied to each other, he who brings to light any new truth demands especial protection, for he confers a blessing upon mankind that will endure for ever : whoever, on the contrary, frustrates by positive hindrance, or implied acquiescence in the obstructions of others, the diligent researches of the inquiring mind into the will of God revealed in the immutable laws of nature, is the worst enemy of his species*.

* “And here we may observe the absurdity of separating natural and revealed religion from each other. The object of

“On this fertile globe, teeming with objects of wonder and admiration, there is nothing more astonishing than those intellectual powers which elevate man so far above all other works of the creation. Surely, then, there cannot be conceived a more obvious, a holier duty than to provide for a cultivation of these powers so universally that they shall no longer be permitted to lie waste even in a single individual: but if such is the duty of the legislature, how much more of the clergy, who profess to direct exclusive attention to spiritual and moral advancement! When it is considered with what glorious capacities, if duly cultivated, the meanest of mankind are gifted, a greater abomination can scarcely be contemplated than the perversion of that authority which has been delegated to aid their development and expansion; yet those who enjoin us to call no man master—who exhort us to ‘renounce the pomps and vanities of this wicked world,’ and avow themselves the followers of the humble Jesus, are beheld riding in patrician state through the streets of the metropolis, followed by a ‘being fearfully and wonderfully made,’ and ‘a little lower than the angels’—attired in the garb of servitude!

both is the same,—to discover the will of God; and, provided we do but discover it, it matters nothing by what means.”—PALEY, *Moral Philosophy*, chap. iv. ‘The Will of God.’

“My Lords, I have done. Your dearly prized honours, which have been endured for a time, I now joyfully resign. Accident threw them in my way: they were assumed in the hope of accomplishing some good for the people. My measures condemned and rejected, repulsed by every sect and party,—your conventional and personal distinctions, your frivolous and empty titles, all that will not involve the forfeiture of my estates, which can at least be ministrant to useful ends, I renounce for ever. But in quitting this assembly, never more to return, I would fain leave one last, earnest entreaty. Seeing that all which exists is the necessary result of that which has gone before—What have I said? The present the consequence of the past! What truth more certain? What truth more condemnatory of the invective with which Your Lordships have been so rudely assailed? Hurried away in the contemplation of the formidable mound which your Honourable House presents to the progress of improvement, and forgetting that it was the accumulation of ages, I have been betrayed into uncourteous language, no less repugnant to the spirit of Christianity than to the dictates of sound philosophy. Pardon, my Lords, this glaring inconsistency: I should have remembered that the oppressors, as well as the oppressed, are the inevitable result of that process through which the species are conducted in the

search for happiness, and that good and bad have been alike essential to the final issue. I should have remembered that there is not an individual present, however degenerate or obnoxious to the people, whose character has not been formed by the same irresistible and immutable laws as that of the most highly favoured. Yes, my Lords, in the long connecting chain of causes and effects, there must have been Neros and Domitians as well as Trajans and Antoninuses; and if the latter, in illustrating the beauty of virtue, have attained happiness, and the former, in rendering more striking the deformity of vice, have reaped misery, should we not regard these with an eye of pity, as having been doomed to suffer for our improvement? And should not the same commiseration be extended also to the living victims of deception? That I should this night have violated a duty so obvious, is another proof that the convictions of the understanding are often powerless in the regulation of conduct unaided by early discipline; and it is because I am deeply sensible of my own deficiencies that, in pleading the wants of the people, I would enforce the urgent necessity of an improved system of moral training and education as the only effectual, safe and radical reform of all the abuses in society.

“ So long as our institutions are calculated to individualize man,—to render him selfish,—to

disjoin his own from the general interests,—we must not be surprised at finding men as they are; pursuing the shadow for the substance; and, covetous of wealth, regardless of the fate of others. We may rather be astonished in discovering any vestige of public virtue, any remains of fallen greatness; and that, notwithstanding the withering influence of professional studies and pursuits, there should yet be some who have broken away from their trammels to claim the highest prerogative of man. I speak in the presence of a hero whose renown has not been eclipsed by the proudest records of ancient glory, and who through a long and splendid career of victory has preserved the purest and the noblest sentiments of humanity*. I might also instance another distinguished individual, who has attained the highest rank in the Church, and whose absence I regret is occasioned by indisposition. That unassuming dignity, that

* At a ball given at Paris, shortly after the battle of Waterloo, a French lady of great literary eminence paid exclusive attention to the Duke of Wellington, although the Emperors of Russia and Austria, the King of Prussia and the most distinguished of the allied princes and generals were present; and after some conversation she asked, "*Ne pensez-vous pas qu'une grande victoire est le plus agréable de toutes choses?*" "*Madame,*" replied the Duke with a degree of coldness bordering on austerity, "*je la regarde comme le plus grand malheur—excepté une défaite.*"

"I am one of those who have been engaged in war beyond most men, and unfortunately principally in civil war; and I

meekness of spirit, that unaffected piety, which first attracted attention even in the studious retirement of a college, lost none of their lustre by his unpatronized promotion, and are still the brightest ornaments of his elevated rank. But, my Lords, these are rare exceptions to the demoralizing tendency of your system; they afford, however, a proof that there are not wanting in this assembly some who are imbued with sufficient zeal, fortitude and benevolence, to carry forward practicable schemes of amendment whenever they can be generally understood: and when you perceive the powers of production rapidly increasing, and the vast superfluity of wealth accompanied by the cries of poverty and distress, can there be any other cause for this strange anomaly than deficient knowledge, both in the governing and the governed?

“Let then the youth of all classes, besides being

must say this, that, at any sacrifice whatever, I would avoid every approach to civil war. I would do all I could, even sacrifice my life, to prevent such a catastrophe. Nothing could be so disastrous to the country, nothing so destructive of its prosperity, as civil war; nothing could take place that tended so completely to demoralize and degrade as such a conflict in which the hand of neighbour is raised against neighbour—that of the father against the son, and of the son against the father—of the brother against the brother—of the servant against his master,—a conflict which must end in confusion and destruction.”—*Duke of Wellington's Speech, April 2, 1829, on the Catholic Relief Bill.*

APPENDIX.

A.—page 41.

THE following account of ABRAM COMBE is extracted from the *Orbiston Register*.

“In October 1820, he made an excursion to Lanark, and was introduced to Mr. Owen. He heard this gentleman expound his views about the formation of character—the defective institutions of old society—the advantages of cooperation—and the great imperfections in the common systems of education; he saw the schools at New Lanark, and beheld with great interest the children clean, cheerful and intelligent; he contrasted the views presented to him with his own past experience and observations, and retired deeply impressed with the idea that there must be important errors in the principles and practices of society, as generally constituted, which occasioned the misery everywhere abounding,—and much gratified with the prospect of brighter scenes held forth by Mr. Owen. The effect produced on his mind was deep and permanent. For some time he merely related what he had heard, and described what he had seen, without announcing any decided opinion of his own; but after months of consideration, and hearing Mr. Owen again, and

reading his works, he at length became a complete convert to his views. With him conviction and practice were closely connected ; he first became a zealous advocate of the new views in conversation and by the press, and thereafter assisted in setting on foot a cooperative society in Edinburgh, as nearly on Mr. Owen's principles as was compatible with external circumstances. The society opened a store for the sale of the necessities of life, on as low a profit as would suffice to defray the necessary expenses of the establishment ; they met in the evenings for mutual instruction and social enjoyment : conversation, music and dancing, constituted their amusements ; abstinence from spirituous liquors, tobacco and profane swearing, were conditions of admission ; and a school, on the plan of those at New Lanark, was established for the children. At first, the society prospered amazingly. The members, full of moral enthusiasm, experienced delightful emotions, and anticipated vast advantages : some conceived that earth was immediately to be changed into heaven, and that sin and sorrow were about to be banished from the land.

“Mr. Combe himself was sanguine of great results ; and at this time took a bet with a friend, that within five years the royal circus, then the most splendid residence in Edinburgh, would be voluntarily pulled down by its proprietors, and converted into communities on the new principles. A great revolution took place in his mind. He became the sincere advocate of the doctrine, that the characters of men are formed by their natural constitutions and external circumstances. While he regarded men as free agents, (meaning by this expression, beings who could adopt whatever modes of feeling, thinking and acting they chose,) he was a severe satirist of their faults, but thought it quite unnecessary to pursue any other means for their refor-

mation, beyond expressing his contempt or disgust at their actual conduct. When converted to the new views, he regarded every man as unfortunate, in proportion to his moral debasement and intellectual ignorance; and extended towards him an active sympathy, not only forgiving offences towards himself, but sedulously elevating his moral and intellectual nature, in unhesitating conviction that if he succeeded in improving the mind of the individual, more perfect actions would necessarily follow. Under his old notions he preferred his private interests to all others; and among those who knew him best, he was regarded as selfish rather than generous. After the change in his sentiments, he openly professed the belief that the active pursuit of the welfare of others constituted man's first duty and happiness; that this was also the true way of attending to his own interests; and he boldly practised his precepts. We know from the best sources of information, that a number of his relatives who had stood on a footing of little more than acquaintanceship with him before, now felt his whole character change: formerly they dreaded his lash,—now they found his affections overflowing on them; formerly they were averse to have pecuniary transactions with him, on account of his sharpness,—now they considered him too indifferent to his private interests; formerly he wrote satires, epigrams, and lampoons,—now he devoted himself to the composition of precepts of universal benevolence and justice; in short, a change of character resembling that usually styled 'conversion,' was, in his case, undeniable. He carried his principles so far that he gave up the use of animal food and fermented liquors; and the theatre became to him an object of dislike, on account of the low motives and false maxims which abounded in dramatic pieces, and which he now felt to be offensive to his moral sentiments.

“The Practical Society in Edinburgh was instituted

at a time of great depression among the labouring classes, and its members besides were wholly unprepared for undergoing so great a change as would have been implied in its complete success. After trade became brisk, and the first impulses of enthusiasm had subsided, the society languished, and ultimately expired. Mr. Combe expressed no disappointment at this result, but proceeded with unabated confidence in the soundness and efficacy of his principles, and professed to have been benefited by the experience which he had gained. Reports of 'The Economical Committee of the Practical Society' were printed, dated February and April 1822; but they contain chiefly expositions of the principles of the society, and no detail of its experience. Mr. Combe's next step was to try the experiment of a community on a small scale. He erected dormitories, a kitchen, and other apartments in his tan-work, induced his workmen to occupy them, and live in common, and he furnished a stock of bark and hides to be converted into leather by their labour, and agreed to share the profits with them, so as to give them one interest with himself. The individuals thus brought together, however, like those who constituted the Cooperative Society, were unprepared in their mental habits for their new condition; and the scheme soon fell to the ground of itself. Mr. Combe still assured his friends that he was not disappointed at this result, and that he had gained further insight into human nature, which only increased his conviction of the superiority of the new system.

"He continued, at the same time, to publish short and practical treatises on the subject. In 1823 appeared 'An Address to the Conductors of the Periodical Press, upon the Causes of Religious and Political Disputes;' also 'Metaphorical Sketches of the Old and New Systems, with Opinions on Interesting Subjects.' In

1824 he published 'The Religious Creed of the New System, with an Explanatory Catechism, &c.' These works are replete with meekness and charity; contain many practical remarks of great importance; and are composed in a clear, forcible and didactic style.

"In cooperation with A. J. Hamilton, Esq. of Dalzell, and several other benevolent individuals both in England and Scotland, he, in 1825, set seriously about trying the experiment of the New System on an extensive scale. They feued the estate of Orbiston, containing 291 statute acres, and lying nine miles east of Glasgow, and almost contiguous to the south road from that city to Edinburgh, for a price of £20,000; they erected extensive buildings, capable of accommodating upwards of 300 individuals, with public rooms, store-room, and other conveniences for common occupation; and also a manufactory on the Calder river, which bounds the property on the south-east. On 10th November 1825, No. I. of the present Register was published, in which, and subsequent Numbers, the principles, practice, and experience of the Community established at Orbiston are fully detailed, and which it is superfluous to repeat here, being familiarly known to our readers. Suffice it to say, that Mr. Combe assumed two copartners into his business in Edinburgh, removed with his family to Orbiston, devoted his whole time and exertions, and by far the larger portion of his property to the undertaking; and sought his reward in the delightful feelings excited in his own mind by practical benevolence, and the prospects of success which continued to animate him to the last moment of his life.

"Too soon, however, was the grave destined to close upon his exertions. The labour and anxiety which he underwent at the commencement of the undertaking, gradually impaired an excellent constitution, which, too, had been weakened by his previous temporary

abstinence from animal food. Without perceiving the change, he, by way of setting an example of industry, took to digging with the spade, and wrought for fourteen days at this occupation, although for a long time previously unaccustomed to labour. This produced hæmoptysis, or spitting of blood from the lungs. Being unable now for bodily exertion, he dedicated his time to directing and instructing the Community, and for two or three weeks spoke almost the whole day, the effusion from his lungs continuing. Nature rapidly sunk under this erroneous mode of proceeding: he became breathless and weak, and at last came to Edinburgh for medical advice. When the structure and uses of his lungs were explained to him, and when it was pointed out that his treatment of them had been equally injudicious as if he had thrown lime or dust into his eyes, after inflammation, he was greatly amazed at the extent and consequences of his own ignorance, and exclaimed, How greatly he would have been benefited if one month of the five years which he had been forced to spend in a vain attempt at learning Latin, had been dedicated to conveying to him information concerning the structure of his own body, and the causes which preserve and impair its functions!

“He frequently spoke of his past life, and approaching dissolution; and on many occasions said, that ‘the last five or six years of his life, during which he had been actively engaged in promoting the welfare of others, had been truly delightful; that all the previous part of it, when he acted on the selfish system, had been comparatively dreary and barren; and that were his life offered to him over again, exactly as it had already been spent, he would cheerfully accept the latter part of it, but would decline the first.’ He was waited on by some pious individuals, and particularly by one of the clergymen of Edinburgh, who conversed

with him about his religious opinions and his dying prospects. He did full justice to the kind motives which had prompted their visits, but maintained calmly and firmly his own principles. In reporting the conversations with them, he said that he had abstained from stating his opinion of the errors under which they appeared to him to labour, as he did not wish to cause them pain. He was very anxious not to be misunderstood or misrepresented on this point; and on 9th August, about thirty-six hours before his death, he dictated to his eldest son, a boy of thirteen years of age, the following words as his dying testimony:—

“The long period during which I have been afflicted, has given me ample opportunity to contemplate the past doings of my life; and these contemplations, so far from having been painful, have enabled me to say, that if *any* epitaph is written on me, it may be simply this—

THAT HIS CONDUCT IN LIFE MET
THE APPROBATION OF HIS OWN MIND AT THE
HOUR OF DEATH.

“‘I have compared the effects of the Old System with those of the New; and I have also compared and examined the characters which both systems have produced; and I am quite satisfied that the New System is much superior to the Old. Under the Old, we really see through a glass darkly, and know even as we are known. But under the New, a very short time makes us see face to face. This has been proved at Orbiston, beyond a shadow of a doubt. Men who came there with many professions, have had these professions dissipated, and themselves rendered objects of pity in the eyes of the community; while others who have made no such professions have become objects of general esteem. In fact, the laws of nature continue to

act, let us do as we may. Feelings and actions like those manifested by A. J. Hamilton, create general esteem among all rational creatures, whether they will or not ; and so it is with Robert Owen, and all who devote their labour and means for the benefit of their fellow-creatures.'

"He dictated also an account of his disease, that it might be useful in enabling others to avoid similar calamities ; and attributed his death to his ignorance of the natural laws on which the health of the body depends. After alluding to the circumstances already mentioned, he says, that at length an 'ulceration in the lungs became manifest. This burst with so much violence, that I lost all hope of future amendment. I, however, did continue rather to amend, until after a second or third attack, when my strength appeared gradually to give way. Reduced to the lowest ebb is the condition in which I now write, unable to cross the room from deficiency of breath, and subject to a severe cough, which afflicts me both night and day, without any prospect of relief but in that of dissolution.

"'I have mentioned these things because I believe that there are many of my fellow-creatures totally unaware of their existence, and consequently of the way to avoid them ; and I cannot help being sorry that the time which is spent in what is called 'spiritual instruction,' had not, in my case, been devoted to such subjects of knowledge as I have already referred to. My spiritual instructors have acted with good intention, but, I fear, neither wisely nor judiciously.' "

Extract from "The Religious Creed of the New System," by ABRAM COMBE.

"When we turn to the written revelations, from which the various nations derive their information, regarding

the authenticity of those doctrines, which are opposed to Nature and Reason, such productions, as far as we can trace them, extend only to the agency of Man. Human beings, like ourselves, made the paper and the ink, and wrote the words upon that paper. Human beings copied these words over and over again. Human beings told us, that human beings told them, that God made a partial revelation of certain mysterious doctrines to other human beings ; which, in our own days, are explained by fallible men, in a way which is opposed to Nature and Reason. While the past and present experience of the world has invariably shown, that everything which is opposed to Nature and Reason, is, and has been, productive of nothing but evil continually.

“On the other hand, we have, in the works of creation, a display of wisdom, power, and benevolence, emanating directly from Deity, which requires no copying—has been always the same—which is given to all nations, and may be understood by all—which can neither be disputed, suppressed, nor subverted ;—a revelation which affords unspeakable pleasure, both to those who study it, and to those who hear it explained, (which circumstance is the clearest mark of Divine approbation,) and which, in its effects upon the character and conduct of individuals, is productive of the most beneficial consequences ; so much so, that the history of the world does not exhibit an instance of a single individual, who made the Revelation of Nature his study, who, at the same time, had a propensity to injure his fellow-creatures ; while universal history concurs in affirming, that in every age, and in every nation, those individuals whose minds were opposed to Nature and Reason, have been invariably instrumental, in a greater or less degree, by their cruelty and injustice, in adding to the sum of human misery.

“It thus appears to me, that no doctrines or pre-

cepts, which can only be explained in a way which is opposed to Nature and Reason, can be at all entitled to the name of Divine Revelation. Their instability and inutility, (not to mention their evil consequences,) the disputes and dissensions that perpetually attend them, the continued changes which they undergo, in different nations and ages,—all furnish the most indubitable proof that their origin is of yesterday; and that, neither in their *origin*, nor in their *effects*, do they at all resemble the undisputed works of Deity.

“Every mode of proceeding which in its ultimate consequences tends to increase the happiness of the community, bears, upon the face of it, the genuine stamp of Divine approbation. There is no course of duty, or no study, in which a human being can engage, where the effects are in every instance so decidedly beneficial as they are in the study of Nature. The pleasure which is uniformly experienced both by the teacher and the taught, is the reward which God bestows on those who pursue the right course. When preachers endeavour to go beyond Nature, and to oppose Reason, their labours are painful to themselves and useless to their hearers. The dull languor of the former, and the drowsy listlessness of the latter, convey to the mind of the intelligent observer the most undisputed marks of divine disapprobation. It is not uncommon to find individuals, who have steadily persevered for more than half a century in the irksome and painful task of opposing Nature and Reason, with minds in a much worse condition, than when they first commenced this insane course of tuition.

“These doctrines are painful to those who teach them—they give no pleasure to those who hear them, and they have the most injurious effects upon the general conduct and daily practice of both. They have been perpetuated in the world hitherto altogether by artificial means. They have been mixed up with much that is

natural and rational, and consequently useful and valuable. Pecuniary reward has been given to those who support them, and summary punishment has been inflicted on those who have called them in question. To these *present* artificial supports have been added, promises of reward, and threatenings of the most cruel punishments, in a future state of existence. Yet, notwithstanding all these extraneous supports, it has also been found requisite to suppress the evidence which exists against them. If Truth, supported by Nature and Reason, is gradually gaining ground, in spite of the accumulated prejudices of a thousand years, what will it not accomplish when everything that is unnatural and irrational shall be shown by itself in its native deformity ;—when those who are paid for teaching others shall confine their efforts within the limits which God has appointed in Nature ;—when the minds of the weak and the ignorant shall be no longer haunted with the idea that they are liable to punishment in another world, for listening to the voice of Deity in this ;—when men shall cease to expect supernatural reward for opposing the clearest dictates of Nature and Reason ? Surely, the victory gained by Truth will then be complete ; and the knowledge of Nature, which is the knowledge of the Lord, will cover the earth as the waters cover the sea.”

B.—Page 81.

The following Letter, “On the Employment of Children in Manufactories,” by ROBERT OWEN, was addressed to the Right Honourable the Earl of Liverpool on the subject referred to.

“ My Lord, — Permit me to address your Lordship in your capacity of Prime Minister of the British Empire,

on a subject of national concern, which, though it has excited considerable interest in certain quarters, appears not to be understood or appretiated by the public at large, in any degree commensurate with its real importance. A Bill on the employment of children in manufactories has been read twice in the House of Commons, passed through the Committee, had its blanks filled up, and is to be read a third time the first Monday in April. I noticed the debates which took place on its first and second reading, and have just received a copy of the Bill as amended by the Committee.

“The Bill is opposed, it seems, by a number of active wealthy cotton spinners, good men of business, several of whom are Members of the House of Commons, and who are capable of raising a formidable opposition to any measure which they imagine will affect their interests. Its supporters are those who deem the practices which at present prevail in our manufactories to be in many cases injurious to the children. The subject, however, seems to be taken up by both parties on very confined grounds. Its extensive bearings on the general interests of the nation have been very imperfectly, or hardly at all considered; and its strong claims on the attention of government and of the country, in consequence very feebly insisted upon. The manufacturers look at it simply as mercantile men, under an alarm that the regulations proposed may in some way or other diminish a fraction of their profits. The fear of loss of pecuniary gain to men trained in the principles of trade and manufactures, is very natural. Their station in society, and, in many instances, their very subsistence, depends on success in their several occupations. Their labours and anxieties too are very great, and except in a few instances, which in consequence are always prominent, they are very inadequately remunerated for their toil and care. Under these circumstances

it is reasonable to conclude that every object must be viewed by them through the medium of mercantile calculation: and no one can justly blame them for, or be surprised at, the jealous activity which they exhibit on all occasions where their interests, real or imaginary, are attacked. For these and other reasons, the natural course of trade, manufactures, and commerce, should not be disturbed, except when it interferes with measures affecting the well-being of the whole community; in which case minor considerations ought of course at all times to give way. The practices which prevail in our manufactories form, in a peculiar manner, one of these exceptions. They interfere essentially with the best interests of society, without benefit to any particular class, or to any individual: and very little explanation, I presume, will demonstrate to your lordship the truth of this statement. Generally speaking, the occupation which manufactures under the existing arrangements afford, is more or less unhealthy to those employed in them; who are called upon to sacrifice their strength and substantial comforts for the advantage of others, and not unfrequently for the benefit of their enemies. The numbers thus employed now constitute an important part of the population—so great indeed, as necessarily to disseminate the good or evil effects of the practices which obtain among them, over every corner of the empire.

“These practices are, 1st, The employment of children before they possess sufficient strength for their work; before they can be initiated in their necessary domestic duties; and before they can acquire any fixed moral habits or knowledge that may render them useful, or not injurious, members of the community. And 2ndly, The employment of adults, both male and female, in situations unfavourable to health for an excessive and unreasonable number of hours per day. The Bill be-

fore the House of Commons is intended to apply to the former evil only, and to remedy which it is surely very inadequate. It permits children to be employed at 9 years of age for twelve hours and a half per day, allowing them only an hour and a half during this period for meals and for exercise in the open air. Experience proves that men may be habituated by early practice to consider the most inhuman and barbarous customs, not only with indifference, but as amusements from which they derive exquisite enjoyment. Even the best natural dispositions may be trained with ease to delight in cannibalism. It would be clearly unjust, therefore, to blame manufacturers for practices with which they have been familiar from childhood; or to suppose that they have less humanity than any other class of men. Those practices, however, to which they have been familiarized from early life, are nevertheless unjust in the extreme to their fellow-creatures, and peculiarly injurious to the best interests of the country. To detail all their consequences would exceed the limits of a letter; and it is presumed that a sketch of the outline of them will be sufficient at once to disclose to your lordship the high importance of the subject, and to establish its claim to the immediate attention of Government.

“To govern well and justly, is to form arrangements by which the greatest benefits that circumstances admit shall be given to the inhabitants of the country governed; and by which, especially, the most helpless part of the population shall be protected from unnecessary oppression. Allow me, my lord, to apply these principles to the subject of this letter. From causes which it is unnecessary here to explain, the value of mere manual labour has been so much reduced that the working man in this and in other countries is now placed under circumstances far more unfavourable to his happiness than the serf or villain was under the

feudal system, or than the slave was in any of the nations of antiquity. I have myself, within the last three years, been but too often obliged to refuse the services of men willing to exert their strength to the very uttermost, when those services were offered and urged upon me by entreaties most distressing to decline, at wages which could not afford the applicant, for himself and family, the most bare and common necessities of life. With the small pittance they asked, they could in fact only gradually starve, amidst wretchedness of which the wealthy can form no adequate conception. Under these circumstances, the working man and his family are now truly become, even in this country, pitiable objects. Yet it is from this class the wealthy derive all which they hold. The rich wallow in an excess of luxuries injurious to themselves, solely by the labour of men who are debarred from acquiring for their own use a sufficiency even of the indispensable articles of life,—much less any of those numberless comforts which they see around them. And yet, if their capabilities were permitted to be brought into action, they could multiply these in such abundance as would not only afford *themselves* a participation in them, but would yield to the *higher classes* a still larger proportion of wealth than the latter can possibly obtain under existing circumstances. Such being the facts, my lord, which at any time I can prove to the satisfaction of every intelligent reflecting mind, surely the working man and his family have a fair and just claim for some aid and protection from the legislature of their country. In a majority of cases he is now, whenever required, compelled by dire necessity to labour 14, 16, or even 18 hours per day in employments from which often every idea of comfort must be banished, which are frequently very unhealthy, and sometimes revolting to human nature; but, my lord, his sons and his daugh-

ters, and even his children male and female of a tender age, are now subjected to the same necessity: they must all thus labour, when they can procure work even of this wretched description, to support a bare existence. To effect more than this many of them never hope, but live in perpetual fear, should sickness overtake them, that they must sooner or later be compelled to accept even this, in the degrading capacity of parish paupers.

“ You will, I am sure, my lord, readily grant that this state of things cannot last; that its continuance will annihilate every proper feeling between the governed and their rulers; and that confusion and misery must go on increasing. If you ask me where is the remedy? or say, as modern politicians are apt to do, that the evil in time will cure itself, I contend that there are remedies; and I deny that the evil, if unchecked, will cure itself in any other way than by perpetually increasing the necessity for the adoption of those remedies. A truly enlightened statesman will avert, by wise ameliorating measures, those increasing evils, which, if permitted to proceed unremedied, will inevitably derange the social system which it is his duty to direct and controul. Past history exhibits no combination of circumstances which bears any analogy to the present crisis: the time never existed when knowledge and misery were so closely and extensively united. That such an union can be of long duration is impossible; one or other must prevail; and no mind competent to look into futurity can be at any loss to conjecture which must yield to the other. The only safe course which governments can now pursue is, not to oppose, but to lead and direct, knowledge. Those governments which will not or cannot act thus will have increasing difficulties to encounter, which no artificial power, opposed to the permanent well-being of the people whom they go-

vern, can long withstand. I trust, my lord, the British Government is not destined to be one of these. I feel confident that there is too much good intention and intelligence afloat amongst us to permit this evil to be inflicted on a nation so willing to sacrifice its temporary interests to the security of its future liberty and happiness. It is these considerations which induce me to bring before your lordship those natural remedies for existing evils which can be alone effectual. Security can now be found only in that system of policy which regards the proper training, education, and advantageous employment of the working classes, as the primary objects of government. Every other remedy which may be attempted will prove a mere palliative, and now a very short-lived palliative. But, my lord, how utterly vain must it be to attempt these objects while so large a part of the population as I have described—while not adults only of either sex, but even children of a tender age, are *compelled* to labour in unhealthy occupations for 14 or 15 hours per day! Such a practice has arisen from the blind efforts of ignorance, that, in its eagerness to grasp at immediate wealth, destroys the only sure means of securing its permanence and its benefits. The opposers of the ameliorations proposed would be themselves great gainers by their adoption. Let the subject be viewed fairly, even as one of mere gain or pecuniary profit only, and it would be easy to prove to the satisfaction of every one who has not been trained to become a mere manufacturer, or whose mind has not been too deeply imbued with the prejudices of trade, that all parties interested must necessarily be gainers under the regulations which ought now to be adopted,—that is, that more wealth shall be created for all, at a less cost, and with more comfort to each. But I need not occupy your lordship's time with the details of an argument, neces-

sary only to those whose ideas have been confined within the limits of a certain class, and who are consequently incompetent to any process of reasoning in which it is necessary to view society as a whole, and not in little detached and unconnected portions.

“ The question is now before the legislature and the country, where I have long wished to see it, that its principles might be fairly and fully discussed by statesmen who have no interest, either real or imaginary, in the present destruction of the health, morals, and happiness of their fellow-creatures—whose only resource afterwards is parish relief. I regret, however, to see that the ameliorating clauses which the Bill before me contains in its present form, are inadequate to remedy the evils which now exist, and which long ago ought to have been prevented. Its enactments limit its intended ameliorations to Cotton Mills only; and permit children at 9 years old to be employed in them from that period to 16 years of age, 12 hours and a half per day, allowing only one hour and a half for meals and exercise in the open air. I have no doubt the honourable member with whom this Bill originated, and who has devoted so much time to the subject, is aware that these enactments are very inadequate to meet the existing evils. He was probably afraid to ask more, lest he should increase the opposition of those who think themselves interested in perpetuating an oppression on their fellow-creatures, worse than any slavery of the same extent with which the human race has been hitherto afflicted. We are unacquainted with any nation, ancient or modern, that has suffered its hundreds of thousands of children, of 7 to 12 years of age, to work incessantly for 15 hours per day in an over-heated unhealthy atmosphere, allowing them only 40 minutes out of that time for dinner and change of air, which they breathe often in damp cellars or in garrets, in

confined narrow streets or dirty lanes. And this system of oppression will be sanctioned by the British legislature if the Bill proposed shall be allowed to pass in its present state ; for it is in evidence taken before a Committee of the House of Commons appointed to investigate the subject, that such practices prevail in other manufactories as unhealthy as the cotton. It cannot for a moment be supposed that the legislature will now compromise its character by giving its countenance to such abuses. Far better would it be that the evil should remain in its full extent, than that the poor sufferer should be mocked by enactments which merely hold out a petty paltry relief to those employed in one branch of our manufactures, while thousands and hundreds of thousands in other situations are left to experience all the oppression and slavery of which I now complain.

“ My lord, I do hope that this important subject will be taken up and defended by the ministers of the Crown on its broad and true principles ; I trust they will prove to the country at large, that revolution or violent reformation is not necessary to compel them to protect the oppressed and the helpless ; and that they are willing of themselves to begin the work of gradual reformation, at that point from which alone any beneficial reformation can ever commence—that is, by attending well to the proper training and education of the rising generation. Let this point be adopted as the polar star of the domestic policy of Great Britain, and it may safely be predicted that her past fleeting prosperity and success will become as shadows when contrasted with her future permanent strength and glory. A fortunate opportunity at the proper moment now presents itself to begin this admirable work, and let us hope it will be seized with avidity by our most enlightened statesmen, who, discarding the ignorant and degrading feelings of

party, will unite all their efforts in a cause in which all have a common interest, and by the adoption of timely preventive measures, founded on principles leading to union and good-will among mankind, will overcome those evils in the social system which now in every direction threaten forcibly to dissolve all existing governments and institutions. But, my lord,—and I put the question to you as a practical statesman,—can the habits of the rising generation be well and properly formed while they continue to be immured almost from infancy within our demoralizing and unhealthy manufactories for 14 or 15 hours per day? Or rather, my lord, could the greatest enemy to human nature devise more effectual means by which to blight every hope of improvement or happiness to man? Could such a being in the plenitude of his cunning and hatred, so surely settle in any other way a blasting curse on human beings, or so certainly inflict upon them every form and degree of misery to which their nature is liable? To advance *one step* beyond a mere pretence to ameliorate the wretched condition of the working classes,—the sole instruments by which our necessities, our comforts, and our luxuries are produced, they must be protected from that oppression to which they are now exposed, and their children must be placed under circumstances in which they may be trained in habits useful to themselves and to society. If the Bill now before the legislature secure not these objects, it will not effect anything that had not much better be left undone. Instead of confining the provisions of the Act to Cotton Mills only, they should extend to all manufactures whatever not carried on in private houses. Instead of children being admitted at 9 years of age to work in Cotton Mills 12 hours and a half per day, with only an hour and a half for meals and recreation, no child should be admitted to work in any manufactory before 10 years

of age, and not for more than 6 hours per day until he is 12 years old. And no manufacturer should be permitted to employ either young or old for a longer period than 12 hours per day, allowing them out of that time one hour for breakfast and another for dinner, leaving 10 hours for full and constant work, which is one more than our ancestors thought beneficial; and I doubt whether 9 hours of regular and active employment, established as the measure of daily labour to be required from the working classes, would not be still more economical and profitable for the country.

“I am fully aware of the clamour which these propositions will at first call forth from the blind avarice of commerce; for commerce, my lord, trains her children to see only their immediate or apparent interest; their ideas are too contracted to carry them beyond the passing week, month, or year at the utmost. They have been taught, my lord, to consider it to be the essence of wisdom to expend millions of capital, and years of extraordinary scientific application, as well as to sacrifice the health, morals, and comforts of the great mass of the subjects of a mighty empire, that they may uselessly improve the manufacture of, and increase the demand for, pins, needles, and threads;—that they may have the singular satisfaction, after immense care, labour, and anxiety on their own parts, to destroy the real wealth and strength of their country by gradually undermining the morals and physical vigour of its inhabitants, for the sole end of relieving other nations of their due share of this enviable process of pin, needle, and thread making. I trust, my lord, it is not by such men that our great national concerns are henceforward to be directed. If their voice is to predominate in our councils, the vital interests of the country must soon be utterly sacrificed to the grossest political errors. It is the creed of this class, that no effort or expense should

be spared to improve those trifling baubles and luxuries, which when perfected, are of no intrinsic value whatever, which cannot add a particle of strength or comfort to the empire *; while any attempts to ameliorate the condition of human beings are decried as unnecessary and visionary, as travelling out of the proper business of life, which to them is solely and exclusively to accumulate wealth—wealth, which is not only acquired at the expense of everything that is truly great or valuable in the character of a nation, but which, when acquired, is useless, nay, in the highest degree injurious to themselves and others. It is, my lord, to such kind of influence as I have now described that the best interests of the country have been sacrificed for years; and if the Government cannot proceed without such aid, it is not difficult to see to what it will speedily lead.

“Should it be urged upon you, my lord, that these and other ameliorating measures will give such a stimulus to population, that the world will soon be too small for its inhabitants, I cannot imagine that your lordship will contemplate such an argument with any alarm. I intend to take an early opportunity of showing that this dread of an excess of population has no better foundation than exists for the nursery terrors of ghosts and hobgoblins; that at this moment the earth is a comparative desert; that all its present inhabitants are suffering for the want of a much more extended population; and that when the subject comes to be properly understood, no real evil will ever be apprehended from this source.

* No real advantage has accrued from enabling our fashionable females to purchase fine lace and muslins at one fourth of the former prices; but to produce them at this price, many thousands of our population have existed amidst disease and wretchedness, and been carried prematurely to their graves.

“ Being strongly impressed with this view of the subject, I have felt it a duty imperative upon me thus publicly to recommend to your lordship, as Prime Minister of the Country, to adopt, by means of the Bill now under the consideration of the legislature, a declared principle of gradually and systematically reforming the growing evils of the country by well and properly forming the habits of the rising generation. It is obviously a necessary preliminary to this work of reformation, that the manufacturer should relinquish the premature and oppressive employment of children.—The importance of the subject of this letter renders it unnecessary to apologize for having thus occupied so much of your lordship’s time. Be assured, that with every proper feeling of respect for the long sacrifice which you have made of your private comforts, in the discharge of public duties,

“ I remain, my Lord,

“ Your Lordship’s most obedient, humble servant,

“ ROBERT OWEN.

“ New Lanark, March 20, 1818.”

C.—page 86.

The Memorials were accompanied by the following Explanations of the Three General Results.

First General Result.—“ The general proof of this statement shall be drawn from the changes which have occurred in the British Empire within the last quarter of a century, or since the general introduction of Messrs. Watt and Arkwright’s improved mechanism, first into the manufactures of Britain, and subsequently into those of other countries.

“ At the commencement of the period mentioned, a much larger proportion of the population of Great Britain was engaged in agriculture than in manufactures,

and it is probable the inhabitants of the British Isles experienced a greater degree of substantial prosperity than they had obtained before, or than they have enjoyed since. The cause is obvious: the new manufacturing system had then attained that point which gave the highest value to manual labour, compared with the prices of the necessaries and comforts of life, which it was calculated to afford, and it had not yet produced the demoralizing effects which soon afterwards began to emanate from this system.

“ At the period mentioned, the manual and the scientific power of Great Britain were sufficient to create a degree of prosperity which placed all her population in a state of comfort, at least equal, if not superior, to that of the inhabitants of any other part of the world. The value of her national funds was higher in 1792 than at any other period, and pauperism among the working class was but little known.

“ The productive powers which created this high degree of prosperity consisted of temperate manual labour, and mechanical and other scientific power, which had been very gradually and slowly accumulating through the previous periods of her history.

“ The manual labour was chiefly performed by men, unaided by the premature exertions of children, and its whole amount may be estimated, in 1792, at that of one fourth of the population, which was then about 15 millions.

“ The scientific power, at the same period, was probably about three times the amount of its whole manual labour, in which case the manual labour would be equal to the work of 3,750,000 of men, and the scientific three times the amount, or 11,250,000 of men, which makes the aggregate power equal to the labour of 15,000,000 of men: the population was also 15,000,000. Thus the population, and aggregate powers of production, appear to be equal, or as 1 to 1.

“ The introduction however of the improved steam engine, and spinning machinery, with the endless variety of mechanical inventions to which they gave rise, and which have been applied to almost all the useful purposes and ornamental arts of life, have created a change in the productive powers of Great Britain of the most extraordinary amount.

“ Manual labour has been increased, by calling into action the almost unceasing daily labour of women and children into manufactures, and in consequence its whole amount may be now estimated at about that of one third of the population, which in 1817 was calculated to be about 18 millions, or in 25 years to have increased 3 millions.

“ But since the introduction of Arkwright and Watt’s improved mechanism, there has been a real addition made to the power of creating wealth equal to that of 200 millions of active, stout, well-trained labourers, or to more than *ten times* the present population of the British Isles, or than *thirty times* the manual labour which they now supply for the production of wealth.

“ The following changes have, then, occurred from 1792 to 1817:

The population increased from	
15,000,000 to	<u>18,000,000</u>
The manual labour from one	
fourth of 15,000,000 to one	
third of 18,000,000, or to .	6,000,000 of men.
The new-created scientific power	
may be estimated at the least	
equal to the labour of	200,000,000 of men.
The scientific power, estimated	
in 1792 at three times the	
manual labour, was equal to .	<u>11,250,000 of men.</u>
Which gives for the aggregate	
productive power in 1817 . .	217,250,000 of men.

Or, in proportion to the population in 1817, as twelve and a fraction to one.

“ It follows that Great Britain has thus acquired a new aid from scientific skill in twenty-five years, which enables her to increase her riches annually twelve times beyond what she possessed the power of creating prior to that period, and which she may either waste in war, dissipate by an unprofitable foreign commerce, or apply directly to improve and ameliorate her own population.

“ This enormous accession to the productive powers of Great Britain is, however, trifling compared with that which she may now acquire : she has still capital and industry, unemployed or misapplied, sufficient to create, annually, an addition to her present productive powers far exceeding the amount of her actual manual labour.

“ Already, with a population under twenty millions, and a manual power not exceeding six millions, with the aid of her new power, undirected except by blind private interest, she supplies her own demand, and overstocks with her manufactures all the markets in the world into which her commerce is admitted ; she is now using every exertion to open new markets, even in the most distant regions, because she feels she could soon supply the wants of another world equally populous with the earth.

“ Instead however of thus contending with other nations to supply their wants, and thereby, under the present arrangements of society, diminish the value of their manual labour, and depress their working classes, she might most advantageously for herself and them, extend the knowledge which she has acquired of creating wealth, or new productive power, to the rest of Europe, to Asia, Africa, and America.

Second General Result.—“ It is a fact self-evident,

that children are born with certain faculties and qualities, or with the seeds or germs of them, and that these combined constitute what is called human nature.

“ In conformity with what appears to be an universal fact in the creation, these faculties and qualities differ in each individual in strength and in combination, and to so great an extent, as to render it highly improbable that any two infants have been or ever will be born alike.

“ It is also a fact obvious to our reason, that whatever these powers may be in each child, he could not create the smallest part of them; they are formed for him by Providence, by Nature, by that power, whatever name man may give it, which creates him; and whether those faculties and qualities are inferior or superior, it is contrary to reason to say that the infant can be entitled to merit or deserve any blame for them.

“ He has received his natural constitution as the lamb and the tiger have received theirs, and there is precisely as much wisdom in finding fault with the one as with the others.

“ The child is also born in some country, of parents belonging to some class, and who possess characters respectively peculiar to themselves.

“ On these circumstances also the child can have no influence whatever: each of them has arisen from causes over which the child could have no power of any kind.

“ These circumstances, however unobserved they may have been by ordinary minds, have hitherto determined, First, Whether the child shall be a Jew, a disciple of Confucius, a worshiper of Juggernaut, a Christian, a Mahomedan, or a savage, even a cannibal. Secondly, To what country he shall belong, and in consequence, what national prejudices shall be forced upon him. Thirdly, What sectarian notions, if any, shall be im-

pressed on his mind. Fourthly, What language he shall be taught; for language influences character more than is usually supposed. Fifthly, In what class he shall be trained. Sixthly, What peculiar habits and notions he shall imbibe from his parents, and those immediately around him, in childhood.

“ So completely indeed has he been hitherto enveloped within those various mediums, that it is unlikely a single individual has yet been able to resist their influence, except in a slight degree, even aided by the infinite variety of natural faculties and qualities which have been given to children in every part of the world. Now, however, with the experience acquired, society may form new circumstances around children in every part of the world, which shall enable each of them to pass this six-fold barrier of error and prejudice.

“ It is true, the power of society over the individual is not without limit; it cannot re-create and altogether change the natural faculties and qualities which are given to children at birth; it cannot make those faculties and qualities superior, which nature has originally made inferior; but the power which it has already gained by experience over human nature, may be applied to effect every purpose that can be rationally described.

“ Such indeed is the powerful influence which experience has now given to society over the rising generation, that it may surround children from their birth with new circumstances, which shall form each of them, bodily and mentally, in such a manner, that their habits, dispositions, and general character shall be greatly superior to the habits, dispositions, and general characters which the circumstances of society have hitherto formed in man in any part of the world. He may also by the same means be so trained, placed, and employed in proper unity with others, and aided by mechanical,

chemical, and other scientific power, that he shall create a surplus of new wealth, or property, far beyond what he can or will desire to retain for his own use.

Third General Result.—"Your Memorialist submits, that in the explanations of the First General Result, it has been shown that the means have been discovered and brought into action, by which a great accumulation of wealth has been made; and that, by the extension of new scientific power, riches may be increased beyond any assignable limit. That in the preliminary explanations of the *second* General Result, it has been shown that the principles of the science of political œconomy are become obvious, by which, without disorder, violence, or punishment of any kind, the rising generation may be, with ease and advantage to all, surrounded by new circumstances, which shall form them into any character that society may predetermine.

"Under the existing arrangements in all countries, the mass of the people derive their subsistence through the nominal value of their labour, and which rises and falls on the common commercial principle of supply and demand.

"This arrangement served the purpose in a tolerable degree while wealth was produced chiefly by manual labour. But it has been shown, that latterly a power of production unlimited in extent, and which scarcely consumes at all, has been introduced; that it has already created a most unfavourable disproportion between the demand for and supply of manual labour, and in its daily undirected progress this disproportion will go on increasing. As long, however, as manual labour continues to be thus depressed, the mass of the people, who derive their subsistence solely from that source, must be subjected to poverty and misery, while a few, not nearly one in one thousand of the population

of the world, will be in possession of accumulated wealth, which under those circumstances must equally destroy their happiness. They would be perpetually involved in the opposition of evil passions and struggle which must arise in such a lamentable state of society.

“ It is not indeed possible, with the knowledge now in the world, and which is daily advancing, that such a state of society can long exist; the overwhelming strength of knowledge and interest on one side will render all contest vain, and the folly of contest must be severely felt.

“ No one, therefore, can for a moment doubt that it is the interest of each individual, in every rank and in all countries, that judicious measures should be adopted with the least delay, to secure those beneficial results in practice. Nor can it be doubted, that with the hourly increase of knowledge in many parts of Europe and America, the period can be distant when it will *appear* to be the interest of all, that these ameliorations should be speedily effected.”

D.—page 93.

Lunatics and Idiots in England.—From a Report made in 1829, it appears that there were at that time in England, in confinement in public lunatic establishments, 1189 male and 1314 female lunatics, or idiots; in private lunatic asylums, 1770 males and 1964 females; in workhouses, &c., 36 males and 52 females; making, in the whole, 6325 persons in confinement. The number of individuals in the condition of lunatics, or idiots, who were at large or with their relations, was 3029 males and 3193 females, making a total of persons at large of 6222. The total number of lunatics was 6806, and of idiots 5741; making to-

gether 12,547 insane persons. To these must be added above 1500 persons belonging either to parishes from which no returns had been made when the lists of the clerks of the peace were made out, or to towns which are counties of themselves, and which are not included in this summary. This addition makes the whole number above 14,000, of whom not fewer than 11,000 were paupers, and maintained at the expense of their respective parishes.

The following extract from an article upon Insanity in the Monthly Magazine, proves the bad effects of intermarriages; and although it attributes insanity less frequently to disappointment in pecuniary speculations than to the sudden accession of wealth, yet almost all the alleged causes are to be found in the disorder and confusion of the present defective organization of society.

“Is madness a disease of the mind or the body? Of the body, doubtless. But let us get into no metaphysics—much less into the doubts and difficulties of theology. We know nothing, physically, of the mind, but through the body. For anything we *actually* know, the mind is the sheer result of admirable mechanism. Of the union of an independent body and an independent mind, we know nothing. We affirm nothing, certainly, of the mind, uninfluenced by the body. We enter not into the question of materialism: it is unconnected with the view we take of the subject. We must, however, speak popularly—the mind and the body. Mental disease, uncaused by external impressions, is scarcely intelligible. Sensations are excited from without and within; and in both may, in excess, become the cause of insanity. The process is shortly this: external impressions—in proportion, of course, to constitutional susceptibility—act, through the senses and nerves, upon the feelings; and the feelings re-act upon the brain. The impression is, in

fact, double: first, upon the senses, next upon the heart—almost, perhaps quite, simultaneously. The nerves and the circulation are thus both implicated; and thus, by excess of action, moral impressions of all kinds may become causes of insanity. But the moral is not the immediate cause; it is productive of a physical one, which is in reality the immediate—the proximate cause of derangement; and to the physical effects must we direct our main attention.

“Now these moral causes are within everybody’s observation, and everybody can estimate the first effects. Some, without weighing the force of their expressions, have denied the influence of mind on matter; but the fact of effects upon the body—of even diseases, both of structure and function, produced by mental emotions—is established by a thousand proofs. The heart, stomach, liver, intestines, kidneys, &c., are often violently affected by the consequences of passion. The ancients referred particular passions to particular viscera—courage to the heart, anger to the liver, joy to the spleen, &c.; and even modern physicians of great eminence have done nearly the same. But we have nothing to do but with recognisable facts.

“Sensations, emotions, passions, are all accompanied by bodily changes; yet these are all excited by impressions from without—that is, are all instances of mind acting upon matter, before matter acts upon mind—are all moral causes.

“Modesty betrays itself by a simple blush, which vanishes with the exciting cause, and scarcely produces any further perceptible effect: but shame shows a deeper suffusion—a more permanent one; the blood is, in a peculiar manner, retained in the vessels nearest the surface, as if the veins had suffered some sudden constriction, and refused to return it. This sensation, in its excesses, is known to have produced other physical

effects of an extraordinary kind—suppressions, insanity, death.

“Diffidence is another modification of modesty, which has brought on mental derangement. Cowper the poet is quoted by Dr. Burrowes as an instance of *melancholy*, from apprehension of inability to execute with propriety a very simple and honourable, but public duty.

“Terror and horror produce similar effects. But here the face is pale—the blood is driven from the extreme vessels back upon the heart—the motions of the heart become thus embarrassed—a violent struggle ensues—and the organ may suddenly cease to beat, or may burst. In the re-action, too, the functions of the brain may be overwhelmed by the force of the blood rushing back into its vessels ; and then insanity ensues.

“In anger, again, the blood flies to the capillaries, and reddens the surface ; but sometimes the effect is just the contrary, and the cheek is perfectly blanched. In the latter case, it is of the more deadly, though less impetuous character, coupled perhaps with the chilling checks of hatred and revenge—a sudden and forcible control, effected partly perhaps by the promise of future and more effective vent. But madness may follow, in the one case, the accelerated movement of the blood ; and apoplexy, in the other, the violent reaction upon the exhausted vessels.

“The effects of fear, and terror, and anger, even upon the muscular powers, are equally obvious. Anger augments them prodigiously—fear, on the contrary, paralyzes.

“The tendency of excessive grief to force blood to the brain, and consequently to bring on madness, is familiar to every one : tears give relief. Sudden joy, again, and more likely, apparently, than grief : it has no natural vent like grief. Transitions from joy to grief

occasion the greatest shocks, and produce the most durable effects. Yet actual losses or disappointments in pecuniary speculations do not appear, observes Dr. Burrowes, to occasion insanity so frequently as unexpected or immense wealth. In the six months succeeding the numerous failures of the winter 1825-6, there were fewer returns to the commissioners for licensing madhouses, of insane persons in the London district, than in any corresponding period for many years before.

“The moral causes hitherto enumerated originate in the individual; but there are others, which seem to spring from the existing condition and circumstances of society. The more artificial is the state of society, the more active are such causes—the more extensively they multiply and operate. Indulgence, indolence, the vices of refinement, make men more susceptible and irritable—more sensitive to impressions, and of course more liable to insanity. Intense pursuits of any kind—high cultivation—morals, religion, politics, produce intellectual disorders. The lower classes, too, though exempt from these concomitants of habitual luxury and intense cultivation, provoke disease by excesses—drunkenness and intemperance—producing thus the very effect which extreme refinement and fastidiousness do among the higher—that is, greater susceptibility.

“A very striking relation, moreover, is observable in insanity to public *events*. Pinel speaks of the immense numbers of insane during the more violent fervours of the French revolution; and Dr. Halloran observed the same in the last rebellion of Ireland. Something very like it is visible at this moment, but more particularly among the Orangemen. Dr. Rush, again, has recorded many effects of the American revolution, both on the mind and the body. In the beginning of a battle, the enthusiasm of both officers

and men excited great *thirst* ; and at the first onset a glow of *heat*, even in the severest cold, was perceptible in *both ears*. Soldiers were found dead in the field at the battle of Monmouth, without any sign of wound, injury, or exhaustion—apparently from emotion. Diseases, unobserved before, he says, appeared on the sudden cessation of the war.

“Among the moral causes of intellectual derangement, religion has been enumerated, mainly because so many insane persons have been possessed by religious hallucinations. Excited to excess, every emotion and passion is capable of bringing on madness : if so, religion, calculated as are its tremendous considerations to influence our feelings, may well be supposed, by possibility, to be a cause of insanity. But still, though the hallucination be a religious one, the real source of insanity may be the very reverse of religion, and thus the religious hallucination itself rather be the effect than the cause of insanity. Generally, those who go mad through religion, as it is called, are people of susceptible temperaments, or very weak heads. Injudicious preachers, addressing themselves, as they chiefly do, to the weak and uninformed, may readily shake an addled understanding. It is quite idle to impute the effect, as most people do, to the mysticism of the tenets inculcated, or to the intenseness with which abstract theology is cultivated, or to the subject of religion being impressed too ardently on persons too young or too much uninformed to comprehend it. It is obviously much more to the purpose to look to the condition in which the perceptive and reasoning powers actually were, before religion appeared to bring on derangement. Dr. Burrowes’s great experience goes to show that the effect springs immediately from some perversion of religion, or the discussion or adoption of novel and extravagant doctrines, at a juncture, when the under-

standing, from other causes, is already shaken. Nor does he recollect one instance of insanity, arising apparently from a religious source, where the party had been *undisturbed* about opinions. It appeared to him always to originate during the conflict between opposite doctrines *before* conviction was determined. While the mind is in suspense from the dread of doing wrong in matters of conscience, and the balance is poised between old and new doctrines, involving salvation, the feelings are excited, says he, to a morbid degree of sensibility. In so irritable a state, an incident, which at any other time would pass unheeded, will elicit the latent spark, and inflame the mind to madness. Dr. Halloran, who had capital opportunities for observation, remarked, that in the Cork Lunatic Asylum, where Catholics in proportion to Protestants are ten to one, no instance of mental derangement, from this cause, occurred among the Catholics, but several among Protestant *Dissenters*. The fact is—and very important it is to the present purpose—Catholic ministers will not permit their flocks to discuss the subject of doctrines; distrust in these matters, doctrines or discipline, is denounced at once as stark heresy. The moment of peril—as to insane effects, we mean, is when old opinions in matters of faith are wavering, or the adoption of new ones recent, and not yet quietly subsided; and from this peril the Catholic is obviously protected, whilst the Protestant, with our freedom of discussion, is pre-eminently exposed to it. The Methodists are charged with making more lunatics than any other sect; but the truth seems to be—which explains the matter very satisfactorily—their converts are more numerous than those of any other sect, in the class to which such doctrines are mainly directed; and they have had, besides, we take it, almost a monopoly of the weaker heads in that class.

“But these moral causes—numerous as they are, and capable of exciting lunacy to a fearful extent—are very far from being the most general causes of insanity. It is only where the frame is highly susceptible, or where the cause is vehement or excessive, that morbid effects are produced by them. The direct *physical* causes are far more extensive in their occurrence;—and among these the very chiefest is *hereditary predisposition*. Esquirol—a man of no slight authority in these matters—assigns 150 out of 264, in his private practice; and Dr. Burrowes—of at least equal weight and experience—says, he has clearly ascertained this predisposition in six sevenths of the whole of his patients, and scarcely seems to doubt its existence in many of the remaining seventh: but the difficulty of ascertaining the hereditary source is often great, from the perverse concealments of the friends. And, indeed, so general is the internal conviction, if not the professed belief of the reality and extensiveness of hereditary influence, that nothing is more frequent than the remark, when eccentricities are observed in individuals, ‘There is madness in the family—the father (or mother) was insane.’ Constitutional peculiarities, which physicians, after their learned manner, call idiosyncrasies, are, in numerous respects, of the commonest occurrence, and need only to be alluded to, in a few particulars, to convince us they are more extensive than seems to be generally supposed, though everybody’s actual experience must furnish him numerous instances. Shell-fish are offensive to some stomachs; some fruits in like manner—the odour of particular flowers; and these peculiarities are known to descend through successive generations. It is quite a common thing to hear a person say, ‘I cannot bear such or such a thing, nor could my father before me.’ One man, again, inherits gout, another consumption, another scrofula, another apoplexy, and propagates it. Some physicians have

encouraged the notion that hereditary disorders, and insanity among them, appear only in every other, that is, in every third individual in lineal descent, but apparently without authority. Here and there, in an individual, the disease may not develop; but no such *rule*, remarks Dr. Burrowes, is observable.

“No fact, indeed, is more incontrovertible than the hereditariness of insanity, and nowhere is the effect more decisive than among tribes or families, where, in the well-understood language of the cattle breeder, they breed in and in. In our own country, hereditary insanity is more common in the higher ranks than in the lower—taking, we mean, numbers for numbers; and they confessedly more frequently marry with those of their own rank, and often among their own families. Examples are said to be most numerous in old Scotch families; and insanity is known to be more common in Scotland than in the rest of the country. Some centuries ago, the Scots were aware of the tendency, and provided against it: when a Scot was afflicted with a disease capable of being propagated, the sons were emasculated, and the daughters banished, and any female affected by such disease, and pregnant, was burnt alive*. Of all people, perhaps, the Jews have most pertinaciously intermarried with each other, and hence insanity is believed to be more frequent among them. One of the *youngest* patients Dr. Burrowes ever had under his care, was a member of a respectable Jewish family; both father and mother were insane, and six brothers and sisters, like himself, became deranged as they arrived at the age of puberty. The Quakers, also, intermarry very much, and among them insanity is more than usually prevalent. Mr. Tuke, of the York Retreat, computes one in two hundred, and apparently, in a great degree, from this cause.”

* Boethius *De Vet. Scot. Moribus*.

E.—Page 130.

Recollections of a Public School.

“I was a pupil of Mr. —, and fag (*i. e.* slave) to a boy whom I shall call Travis. In order to tempt the inexperienced as much as possible, I beg to offer the following picture of my comforts and course of study at B——. This, it is to be observed, cost my father little less than one hundred and thirty pounds per annum!

“In the morning, about half-past six in winter, I rose; and after a hasty toilette, lighted my wax taper, (which I paid for,) got for Travis clean water, his shoes, and brushed his clothes, &c., (a good half-hour’s labour during the foot-ball and other dirty seasons). At seven, the morning school opened, before which time I had to get by heart my lesson, for which I had had no opportunity the evening before. This was sometimes accomplished, but as often not so; for it was necessary to neglect either Travis or my lesson; and I naturally preferred the latter course, where there was only a chance of punishment, to the former, where the matter was certain. At seven, as I have said, the school commenced, and I had then to ask Travis’s leave to go there! This was usually accorded, of course; but it was not unfrequently refused for a time, and the consequence was a flogging or a task. It was useless to extenuate, ‘I have been fagging, sir.’ That excuse was seldom if ever allowed, and never but on giving up the fagger’s name. If I had given up Travis’s name, misery would have been my portion. So I took my tasks or my floggings quietly. At eight, or half-past eight o’clock, school was over, and we returned to the boarding-house, where breakfast was ready. This consisted of a penny roll (or small cake), and a little warm

water with less milk. It was necessary to dispatch this before nine o'clock, (about which time our tutor was accustomed to construe our Latin or Greek lessons for the day); and this, in fact, could easily have been managed, (and more too,) but, unfortunately, it is the fag's province to disregard his own breakfast as well as his lesson. He must attend upon him for whom he fags. So is disinterestedness taught. And so it was with me. I had to boil Travis's kettle, (for the greater boys purchased tea and sugar,) toast his roll; go into the town and purchase butter and an additional roll; be ready at his call; and, in a word, wait upon him during breakfast in the character of a foot-boy—for which I was paid in blows. My own little roll was devoured as I could—sometimes thrust into my pocket, half eaten; sometimes 'bolted,' leaving my appetite nearly as fresh as ever; and sometimes hoarded for an hour or so till I arrived at my tutor's, and waited his leisure for construing my lesson. At nine, it was necessary to start for our tutor's house, (as he lived some way from my lodging,) and there we heard *all* our lessons for the day construed; duly wrote the English interpretations over *every* difficult word, and thought no more about the matter! We never consulted a dictionary; for every lesson, without an exception, was fully interpreted to us. No industry was necessary on our parts, and accordingly we were idle! About ten o'clock the tutor's labour ceased, and his pupils were, class by class, dismissed. After this, we might, perhaps, have studied the lesson still further, (with a view to parsing it, &c., in school,) except that the intermediate time was generally well occupied in fagging. And, indeed, had it been otherwise, it was scarcely worth while to study a lesson for the mere chance (as will be seen hereafter) of being called up to say it. The consequence was, that we were either busy

on behalf of some of the higher boys, or else idle on our own account !

“ At eleven o'clock the second school began, and lasted till twelve; during which the master could examine only about ten boys. If we were 'called up,' we blundered through our lessons upon the strength of our tutor's construing; if not, we were, as the soldiers say, '*as we were.*' At twelve we emerged into the open air; when play on the part of the big, and fagging on the part of the little boy recommenced. At one o'clock the dinner-bell rang, and every one scrambled for his share of mutton and potatoes, beefsteak-pie, (an inexpressible medley,) beef and carrots, or some such refectation. To this was added 'swipes'—a detestable compound, which it is no exaggeration to say, a London beggar would scoff at; and on Sundays, in the fruit season, when gooseberries were *red*, and plums and damsons *very* cheap,—a pudding. After dinner, (the time set apart for preparing ourselves for the afternoon school,) fagging resumed its sway. From two till five o'clock we were in school, waiting during the first hour for the master, and subject to the chance only of being called up during the two last. After school we had our tea,—a repetition of breakfast, (except that a thin round of bread and butter took the place of the penny roll, and swipes succeeded to milk and water,) and interrupted in like manner by the necessity of waiting upon our boy-master; and when his tea was over, we had to clear his table, and hold ourselves in readiness for *any* of the higher boys who chose to call out 'a fag.' And now the lesson for the next morning *ought* to have been learned; but, with a single play-room, and a *single* candle for thirty or forty boys, it will easily be imagined how much of either ever came to the share of the little fag. In fact, he *never* could calculate upon either light or warmth during the whole

of the winter season. For my own part, I scarcely ever was able to learn a lesson so long as I remained a fag; and I sincerely believe that I never was thoroughly warm, in winter, except while I was in bed. At eight o'clock, weary, sad, and frequently hungry, we were sent to our pillows, to dream of home, and prepare ourselves for the next day's toil. The next day came, when we rose as usual; and the same scene of toil and misery and neglect, was repeated.

"Sometimes, it is true, one day passed off less sadly than another. Sometimes I *did* learn a lesson; sometimes I got scraps from Travis's table (such as I should give to my dog); sometimes he did not beat me; sometimes he did not even threaten me;—but this was seldom. In general he was insolent, overbearing, capricious and brutal. He had no care for me—no compassion—no generosity. I was threatened, and beaten, and bruised, to a degree that is scarcely credible. I was forced from my lessons times out of number. I was subject to every insult, every sort of tyranny—to kicks, to curses, reproaches, abuse of the foulest kind and the cruelest blows. I was pulled out of my bed in winter nights; I was (always) obliged to rise long before my master; and instead of going to the *one* fire which was allotted us in winter, to brush his clothes, get his shoes, procure water, &c., to attend him while he dressed, to wait on him during breakfast and tea, to hurry on all his errands, and to do fifty services, which cannot be enumerated; and my reward was *never* any thing—but blows! Such is a fag's history, *for one day*, at a public school; and they are all nearly alike. If there have been others who have suffered less, it argues nothing but that their *chance* has been more fortunate than mine. They have all been *liable* to the same tyranny, and that is sufficient to stamp the system detestable."—*New Monthly Magazine*.

The following is from a Periodical published no longer back than the year 1828.

“From the string of chaises which brought the Eton boys to town for the holydays, on Thursday last, leaden bullets were discharged from air guns, catapults, or bird-bolts, which broke a very considerable number of windows, through which they passed. One bullet, after breaking the window of a Mr. Taylor at Hammersmith, narrowly missed his wife and child; another bullet passed close to the head of a Mr. Geary, who was standing at his door. What must be the moral conduct under which these boys are brought up?”

F.—page 145.

“It has been computed by political arithmeticians,” says Franklin, “that if every man and woman would work for four hours each day on something useful, that labour would produce sufficient to procure all the necessaries and comforts of life; want and misery would be banished out of the world, and the rest of the twenty-four hours might be leisure and pleasure.”

It is probable that since the above computation was made, the progress of scientific discoveries has rendered such extraordinary aid to man, that two hours' employment in the day would be adequate to the supply of his wants; and this without taking into consideration the superior œconomy of the new arrangement of society. The political œconomists are the most contradictory of all writers; and it would not be difficult to refute any one of them by placing in juxtaposition, arguments to be found in different parts of their own works. From the following passage it might be concluded that poverty could never be abolished; and yet from the succeeding opinions it must be inferred that

education could reconcile mankind to any employment, however opposed to their present feelings. Both the articles are by Mr. Mill.

“As we strive for an equal degree of justice, an equal degree of temperance, an equal degree of veracity, in the poor as in the rich, so ought we to strive for an equal degree of intelligence, if there were not a preventing cause. It is absolutely necessary for the existence of the human race that labour should be performed, that food should be produced, and other things provided which human welfare requires. A large proportion of mankind is required for this labour. Now, then, in regard to all this portion of mankind that labours, only such a portion of time can by them be given to the acquisition of intelligence as can be abstracted from labour.”—*Art. EDUCATION, Encycl. Brit.*

“To what extent the habits and character which those influences tend to produce, may engross the man, will no doubt depend, to a certain degree, upon the powers of the domestic and technical education which he has undergone. We may conceive that certain trains might, by the skilful employment of the early years, be rendered so habitual as to be uncontrollable by any habits which the subsequent period of life could induce, and that those trains might be the decisive ones on which intelligent and moral conduct depends.”—*Id., ibid.*

“That he is a progressive being is the grand distinction of man. He is the only progressive being upon the globe. When he is the most rapidly progressive, then he most completely fulfills his destiny. An institution for education which is hostile to progression, is therefore the most preposterous and vicious thing which the mind of man can conceive.”—*Id., ibid.*

G.—page 148.

On the Union of Churches and Schools.

“To His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

“My Lord,—You have now presided for several years, with assiduity and regularity, over the Society for educating the Poor in the Principles of the National Church; and you have witnessed the almost miraculous change which has been produced on the young mind by your influence, and by those who have acted under your direction. You have seen ignorance and vicious conduct rapidly give place to comparative intelligence and good habits. The public look on with amazement at the effects which are daily exhibited by the children at the Central School in Baldwin’s Gardens. They can scarcely, however, yet believe that, by a similar process, the most neglected and wretched part of our population,—that part which disturbs the public peace, which fills our prisons, and which is left to suffer an ignominious death,—might all have been thus trained, and thus rendered respectable, efficient, and happy members of the British Empire. But, my lord, this knowledge is hourly extending; and the inference must soon become most apparent to every one capable of even ordinary reflection. It is utterly impossible to hide it another year from the public eye. One and all will then ask of you, and of every member of the Government—“If society possesses this overwhelming influence over the habits and conduct of the rising generation, and that influence is in your hands, why do you not exert it for the safety of the State and for the benefit of all?” The responsibility with which you and they are invested at this crisis, is of the most awful nature. The power is with you to lead the public mind to all that is truly excellent, and to secure the perma-

nent well-being of the country on a foundation which neither domestic dissension nor foreign foe could in the slightest degree disturb;—and the power is also with you to oppose the progress of true knowledge for a time, and thereby create a conflict which in the end must prove more disastrous to those who govern than any of former times; for power and knowledge never before met, since the world was created, upon terms so nearly equal. Why do I thus express myself to Your Grace?—It is because I am anxious that the attention of Government should be immediately directed to those measures which can alone relieve the country from the dangers with which it is surrounded—and to which it must continue to be exposed, while they persevere in acting on notions they can no longer defend; notions, the errors of which every school-boy will soon detect.

“You have obtained from Parliament the grant of a million for the erection of churches; and to the principle of the measure no one has objected. It has been thus liberally bestowed, in order to improve the character of the population; and if it be at all times requisite that the public money should be expended in the most advantageous manner possible, it becomes a sacred duty under existing circumstances (when, in the fourth year of peace, fourteen millions must be borrowed to make up the deficiency of the revenue), that every pound should be appropriated so as to produce the greatest beneficial result. The experience of past ages, and particularly of the present times, has proved that early training and education produce a much more durable impression than can be given by instruction at a later period in life; and that, in consequence, the teaching of the school, without the learning of the church, is far more efficacious than the learning of the church can be, without the previous teaching of the

school. To those, however, who have confidence in the good effects to be derived from each, it must be most desirable to have all the benefits of both, when they may be obtained with the same, or nearly the same, expense and trouble. I well know the lively interest which Your Grace, and many of the highest dignitaries of the church, in common with the public, now feel in the cause of early education. The experience which has been lately acquired on this most important of all subjects, must have removed whatever doubt remained, as to the power which may be given to it to well form the character of every human being. But Your Grace well knows, that there is no utility to be derived from the most accurate knowledge of any principles, until those principles shall be carried into practice. Your Grace, and every real friend to the gradual and rational improvement of society, will rejoice to hear, that buildings may be erected to serve most advantageously the double purpose of church and school; that they may be so contrived, as to be complete for each, without the one interfering in any manner with the best known arrangements of the other; and that, thus combined, they would most effectually cooperate in securing to the rising generation every advantage that both are calculated to give. I do not venture thus to address Your Grace on any mere theoretical opinion:—the fact exists under my own eye; the experiment has been tried, and is complete in all its parts; and instead of any inconvenience having arisen from this combination of church and school, experience has proved that they ought never to be separated. And if I do not greatly mistake, the period is near at hand—almost arrived—when this combination of church and school shall become a bond of union among mankind; when the violence of opposing opinions shall be calmed by a true knowledge of the source

of all disputed opinions; and rational selfishness, or true benevolence, shall take place of ignorant dissension. *All*, from the highest to the lowest, are deeply interested in this change; and none, my lord, will be so essentially benefited by it as those on whom rests the present responsibility of governing mankind. If they will not now actively lead on in the right course, is it possible they can yet be so blind as not to see, what is obvious to many, that the force of circumstances will drive them into measures most hazardous for them and for society? To avert this crisis—to produce the change gradually and by universal consent, I would willingly forgo every private consideration, and deem life itself no sacrifice in such a cause.

“I will now state some of the advantages which the country may derive from having the new churches so erected as to serve the double purpose of church and school.

“1st. In those situations in which churches are now deficient for the population, schools will be deficient also; and Your Grace will admit, that as a foundation for the improvement of society, schools are quite as necessary as churches.

“2nd. That fundamentally and substantially to improve the population, schools should be established prior to churches, or, at the latest, at the same period.

“3rd. That these new churches and schools, if the measure here recommended be adopted, may be made the instruments of uniting the jarring feelings of mankind on disputed points, which from their nature do not admit of proof, and which therefore ought never to be forced on the young mind, but placed before it when the judgement is ripe, and capable of forming a rational conclusion for itself. Anything short of this has no pretension to be called liberty of conscience; and until it can be obtained for the rising generation, man must

continue as he has been, little more than an ignorant animal, incompetent to discern the means which surround him to secure the happiness of his species.

“4th. These churches, although when used as churches they disseminate only the peculiar doctrines of the established religion, may on the week days be safely made to give school instruction to the children of every persuasion. All contribute to their expense ; all should therefore derive some benefit from them—nothing exclusive ought here to be admitted. It is to be hoped that the Church of England will set the first example of a church establishment opening its doors to instruct the children of a mixed population, not in its own peculiar religious tenets, but in good habits and substantial knowledge, so as to enable them to become useful men and respectable members of society, either in the persuasion of their parents or of any other sect to which their maturer judgement may lead them. This measure would be sound policy in the Church. By such wise and just conduct she would disarm her enemies, withdraw the hostility of those who dissent from her, and obtain time gradually to reform herself, as society advanced in knowledge.

“These considerations are abundantly sufficient to prove the utility and wisdom of the plan of combining the object of a school with every church to be hereafter erected ; and the time approaches when the school will become the best protection and safeguard of the church. All who can anticipate the evils of a violent revolution, will adopt every prudent measure to prevent it ; and surely none will be more efficacious in this respect than to form a union between the church and the school. There is however another view of the subject, which must remove all doubt from every mind as to the necessity of the measure recommended. The Legislature is about to emancipate the manufacturing labourer from

the oppression to which he and his children have been subjected. To secure health and time for instruction to the mass of the people, is a measure of the soundest policy; it is the first step to improve the condition of society. Without it, indeed, the population of these Islands would soon become little better than miserable brutes, having scarcely the form of men.

“Yet to give the population time for instruction, and not provide that instruction, would be to mock the reasonable expectations of every reflecting mind; nay, my lord, it could not fail to prove the certain means of hastening the period, when, without the application of effectual remedies, society will find itself involved, through ignorance, in violence and confusion.

“But happily for all parties—for the improvement of the poor—for the safety of the rich—at the moment when required, an opportunity presents itself when the ignorance and bad habits of the rising generation may be removed by the influence of the new schools of the new churches; and those poor children who have latterly been made the victims of a miscalculating cupidity in the manufacturing districts, will come from those schools competent and prepared to return fourfold advantages to the public for the expense and labour which shall be thus bestowed upon them.

“You, my lord, from the experience which the national schools have afforded you, may have some faint idea of what may be obtained by proper attention to the young mind. But, my lord,—and I say it as a practical man from my youth up to the present period,—without some such similar experience, you can form no adequate conception of the power which the Government and the Public possess, to add to the comfort and well-being of all ranks, by forming and directing the physical and mental capabilities of the working classes in the best manner for themselves and for society.

When these principles shall be thoroughly understood; when the Legislature of this and other countries shall steadily act upon them, and legislate solely in conformity with them; and when the astonishing effects shall be witnessed, which they are sure to produce in practice; then will one and all express their astonishment, that that which is so obviously true, so plain and so simple, so perfectly in unison with every known fact, and so easy of application to all the purposes of life, should have been disregarded for so many ages of the world, and left to be brought into action at this late period of human existence.

“I trust, my lord, that you are destined to lend a helping hand to forward this great work, and that you will take every prudent step not only to combine schools with the churches, but to hasten, as far as possible, their completion; in order that our manufacturing population may not be compelled to acquire bad and vicious habits, because no efficient means have been prepared to make them virtuous and useful members of society.

“I have the honour to be, my Lord,

“Most respectfully,

“Your Grace’s obedient humble Servant,

“ROBERT OWEN.”

“New Lanark, 6th May, 1818.”

H.—page 170.

“Where is the common, once with blessings rich,—
The poor man’s common? Like the poor man’s fitch
And well-fed ham, which erst his means allow’d,—
’Tis gone to bloat the idle and the proud!
To raise high rents! and low’r low profits!—Oh,
Tomorrow of the Furies! thou art slow!

But where, thou tax-plough'd waste, is now the hind
 Who lean'd on his own strength, his heart and mind?
 Where is the matron with her busy brow?
 Their sheep, where are they? and their famous cow?
 Their strutting game-cock, with his many queens?
 Their glowing holly-oaks, and winter greens?
 The chubby lad, that cheer'd them with his look,
 And shar'd his breakfast with the home-bred rook?
 The blooming girls, that scour'd the snow-white pail,
 Then wak'd with joy the echoes of the vale,
 And, laden homewards, near the sparkling rill,
 Cropp'd the first rose that blush'd beneath the hill?
 All vanish'd!—with their rights, their hopes, their lands,
 The shoulder-shaking grasp of hearts and hands,
 The good old joke, applauded still as new;
 The wond'rous printed tale, which must be true;
 And the stout ale, that show'd the matron's skill,
 For, not to be improv'd, it mended still!
 Now, lo! the young look base, as grey-beard guile!
 The very children seem afraid to smile!
 But not afraid to scowl, with early hate,
 At would-be greatness, or the greedy great;
 For they who fling the poor man's worth away,
 Root out Security and plant Dismay."

Splendid Village, by Ebenezer Elliot.

I.—page 184.

At some period of almost every year, records of misery may be found disgraceful to any civilized country. The following instances occurred in the year 1830.

"Sir R. Birnie stated on Monday, that no less than five unfortunate men, whom the weather had prevented from working as hay-makers, had been found *dead* in the fields within the last week; two in Ealing parish, two in the parish of Willsden, and one in another. There could be no doubt (Sir Richard continued), that the poor fellows had died from the want of proper sustenance and shelter, as on opening the bodies of three of them, nothing was found in the stomach but a small

quantity of wild sorrel, and in the other two the stomachs were literally empty!"

Extracts from the Times, July 9, 1830.

"In several districts of the Queen's County the lower orders are actually perishing from famine. They have been tempted into the commission of outrages by their distress, and their proceedings are now assuming the most dangerous character from a secret system of organization which seems to regulate them. Should their sufferings not be mitigated by some speedy relief, there will be no safety for property, perhaps for life, in this county: as it is, the state of things is frightful.—*Dublin Morning Advertiser.*"

"The exertions which have been made by the Relief Committee to give food and employment to the poor of Clonmel have been unremitting: over one thousand people have been fed twice each day during the last week, and between three and four hundred persons employed in improving the roads and other useful works in this town and neighbourhood. The Clonmel Relief Funds now amount to upwards of £800, but the weekly expenditure at present is nearly £150.—*Tipperary Free Press.*"

From the Times, July 10, 1830.

"From our own knowledge of the state of the poor of Cashel, we can state that many of them are living on a meal of cabbage-leaves once in twenty-four hours.—*Clonmel Herald.*"

"Chipping Barnet, June 20, 1830.

"Owing to the wetness of the season, rain having continued for three weeks almost without intermission, the farmers in this neighbourhood have not commenced cutting grass. The consequence has been that great numbers of people who come to this part for the pur-

pose of hay-making have been in the greatest distress. A public subscription has been entered into for their relief; and on Thursday bread and bacon were distributed to 2356 individuals, in the following proportions:—Men (English and Irish), 1933; women and children, 323; and to men, women, and children, indiscriminately, 100. The bacon was given by J. Trotter, Esq., of Durham Park, weighing $732\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. and cut into 2411 pieces. The number of half-quartern loaves was 2276.”

K.—page 257.

The following is extracted from an Essay in the *Athenæum*, a work conducted by Dr. Aikin about thirty years since, and is most probably from the pen of that able writer,—“On the Imitative Principle as an Instrument in Education.”

“Education is the process by which a creature is conducted from the weak and imperfect condition of new existence to a state of maturity. It takes place, therefore, in some degree with respect to the whole animal creation, which by the constitution of nature, has this progress to pass through. In the inferior classes, however, it consists in mere corporeal change, effected by the sure operation of natural causes, without any adventitious aid. The young of many animals are dropped into the midst of all they want, furnished with faculties enabling them spontaneously to make a proper use of what is provided for their nutriment. These might be called the favourites of nature, were not the extent of their enjoyments as limited as their procurement is easy. The young of the more perfect animals are not qualified so soon to live independently. Strength and cunning are requisite to many, in order

to secure their subsistence and protect them from their enemies. A task, therefore, devolves upon their parents, which consists of two parts ;—the providing of food and shelter for their bodies, and the instructing of them in those arts of life which they will hereafter have occasion to practise. With regard to the latter, however, Nature seems chiefly to rely upon that *principle of imitation* which she has implanted in the young of all animals, and which prompts them to make attempts at doing all they see done, till by repeated trials they attain the power of doing the like. This principle alone probably suffices for the education of animals in general, though in some instances we discern efforts in the parent to point and direct it. Thus the parent bird is not content with flying in the sight of her young ones, but takes manifest pains in instructing and encouraging them to fly.

“Among the less civilized tribes of mankind, the imitative principle, with a slight degree of attention in directing it, constitutes almost the whole of education. The young savage, as soon as he is able to use his limbs, accompanies his father to the chase or fishery, makes his little bow and arrows, sets his trap for small birds, in short, does in miniature all that he sees done by his elders, in copying whose actions he places his utmost ambition. If active and ingenious by nature, he acquires everything almost of his own accord, and gives no trouble to an instructor. He learns the use of language by imitation, selects his food, and chooses his pastimes by imitation, adopts ceremonial observances and superstitions by imitation, practises the arts of life by imitation, and, in fine, squares his whole conduct according to that principle. Some more curious points of knowledge or skill, some secrets which long experience has taught, may be communicated to him by his parents in the way of positive instruction ;

and constraint may be occasionally used to force him to apply to a difficult or laborious task. But, in general, this is unnecessary. The arts requisite in savage life are simple, and skill in them is only to be obtained by repeated practice. Their obvious utility, and the honour gained by excelling in them, are motives sufficient to stimulate the emulation of the young; and what they imitate they soon equal. With modes and habits of life, sentiments and opinions are acquired; and thus a new generation becomes an exact copy of the old. This is what may be called *natural education*. Its effects, as far as they go, are certain; and there is no more doubt that the young of the human species thus brought up will resemble their parents, than the young of any other animal will do so. This education prevails in its utmost perfection among the savage Americans; and it is curious to remark how, through its means, with scarcely any artificial instruction, and with the least possible restraint on freedom of action, the same end has been attained of forming a warlike character, with all its love of glory, fear of shame, endurance of hardship, and contempt of pain and death, that was effected by the severe and unnatural rigours of the Spartan discipline.

“Even in civilized societies a greater share of education is entrusted to simple imitation than is, perhaps, generally conceived. The common exercise of the limbs, the practice of numerous little arts, the use of language itself, that noble distinction of man from inferior animals, are all imbibed without direct instruction. Manners, customs, the decencies of life, and even sentiments of morality and religion, are in great measure derived from the propensity to imitate and adopt whatever is habitually heard and seen. Great part of the wisdom of the wise and of the virtue of the good is thus insensibly acquired: indeed so much is done by it that

it may rather be made a question what else is requisite in education, than what is the efficacy of this. And surely if it can be shown that what is most valuable to the man can be obtained at no other expense than that of setting proper examples in the way of the child for his spontaneous imitation, such a training will be thought preferable to the elaborate and uncertain process of artificial instruction.

“It cannot escape observation that in the list of things which young people are usually set to learn, some may be termed *essential* and others only *subordinate*; and though all persons will not agree in the particulars which are to be referred to each of these classes, yet it will be generally allowed that the essential are such as exert the greatest influence upon after-life. To secure these, though at the expense of the others, ought to be the care of every wise parent; and the first step to it is that parents themselves should resign the vanity of *showing off* their children by forced acquisitions, which are only admired in them as children, and are thrown by and forgotten on the approach to maturity. It is very much on their account that children are secluded from family society, and banished to boarding-schools, where they live in severe restraint or rude familiarity, estranged from all domestic endearments, and deprived of the means of knowing anything of that world which they are shortly to enter. The most agreeable view of human society is that of an assemblage of human beings of every age, sex, and condition, acting in their mutual relations to each other, mingling in serious and sportive occupations, and taking their several parts in the grand drama of life. In such a society it is that minds are formed, that knowledge and manners make their silent progress, and that the *imitative principle* gradually leads on the young to the character and acquirements of maturity. It is an as-

sortment of individuals made by the hand of nature, in which all have duties to perform, pleasures to receive, and improvements to make. Banish a part of what composes *family*, and the whole system is defective. It should comprehend not only the father and mother, the servants, and the child in the cradle, but the rising youth in every successive gradation. From such a complete band, as it were, proceeds the full harmony of the charities of life. The children of middle age look down upon the infants with tender affection, and up to the elder branches with a softened respect; thus fostering emotions which are to make them amiable and estimable in future life. When the well-grown boy employs himself in teaching, conducting, and protecting his younger brothers and sisters, and the womanly girl assists her mother in the cares of the nursery, what a fund of skill and patience are they acquiring for the most important duties of men and women!

“It may be made a general remark, that when any one of the divisions of mankind is separated from the rest, and forms a society apart, a generic character is produced by virtue of the imitative principle, widely deviating from that which it would have maintained while mingled with the mass. Thus the monastic societies, male and female, have composed a race of beings, in their manners and sentiments scarcely preserving any similarity with those of the world they have renounced. Those governments which have been desirous of training military men to the highest pitch of ferocity, have been careful to prevent them from mixing in scenes of civil life. Soldiers long confined to a garrison, and sailors in a ship, are apt totally to forget their relation to the community at large, and to become assimilated to a band of robbers in their den. The Zaporavian Cossacks are so sensible of the effects of this seclusion, that in their community, which is an

association for blood and plunder, they admit no women or children. I would not say anything unnecessarily harsh of institutions among ourselves, which many approve; but I might be permitted to ask what are those boasted virtues of hardy resolution, unshaken fidelity to their companions, steady combination against authority, and defiance of punishment and censure, which are acquired at our public schools, but qualities resembling those of the detached societies above mentioned, and directly hostile to the principles which produce the welfare of society in general?

“With respect to schools for the other sex, I cannot suppose them nurseries for dispositions like these, nor am I a believer in the stories circulated, chiefly among the licentious, concerning the prevalence of gross violations of decency in them. I am convinced that in all the reputable seminaries of this class the higher morals are guarded with due vigilance. But I would ask those who are best acquainted with them, whether the society of a number of equals, under rigorous restraint, without the softening of domestic pleasures and parental endearments, do not frequently tend to fret and sour the temper, and give scope to mean and spiteful passions, to envy, detraction, and tale-bearing, which render unlovely the most amiable part of creation?

“What is the result of all these observations? That since the imitative principle has such a powerful operation upon the future character, it is of the highest importance that proper objects should be presented to it during the early years of life; and that due advantage should be taken of its influence, to inculcate those lessons which by no other means can be so easily and efficaciously impressed upon the youthful mind. *Domestic education* alone affords the opportunity of applying this principle in the fullest and most beneficial

manner; and therefore, in a general view, deserves the preference to other modes.

“There are, however, various exceptions to this preference of a home education which demand attention. The first to be mentioned is a most serious one;—it is, that in the present state of manners a child frequently cannot draw his examples from a more improper source than his father’s house. And if such an awful consideration be unable to produce a change in the parental œconomy, doubtless its weight is decisive. Let the child rather be exiled to the remotest parts of the earth than stay to date his ruin from *home*. Nor, when the danger is manifest, would I think of concealing or palliating it by proposing the expedients of separate apartments, a distinct establishment, or other safeguards, which must all prove unavailing where the current of dissolute manners runs strong. One remark, however, I will venture to make. Where the principal hazard is supposed to arise from the idea a child of family and fortune, brought up at home, will acquire of his own consequence by means of the deference and submission he will experience from servants and dependants, *that* will not be effectually obviated at a public school. The pretended equality in those schools is rather imaginary than real. There, not less than at home, are parasites and panders, vigilant to flatter his pride and minister to his inclinations. When boys of inferior fortune are sent to public seminaries for the avowed purpose of ingratiating themselves with the sons of persons of rank, can it be supposed that the latter will be left ignorant of their importance, and uncorrupted by its effects? The generosity of spirit usually attributed to youth educated at those schools is, I fear, of no genuine kind; and the mercenary character of the age has in no instance more disgusted me than in the sentiments I have discovered in some of these tiros, who, in speak-

ing of the reputation and proficiency of some of their fellow-scholars, have dwelt with peculiar complacency on the advantages they were likely to derive from them in the pursuit of pecuniary emolument.

“The advantages of a public and domestic education are combined, and the inconveniences of both avoided, when adults collectively train their children collectively, or when mankind, considering themselves as one family, shall form their arrangements in accordance with that principle.”

L.—page 243.

“Shall we be frightened with an anticipation of a dull uniformity of character? Dulness, it need not be said, is in these communities of free inquiry impossible, till all the facts of Nature and the command of all her energies shall have been explored and mastered. *Then*, if the mere use of all these mighty means of happiness, acting on the various and perhaps improved nervous susceptibilities of our organization, be not sufficient to ward off dulness, such communities must be satisfied to be dull. To uniformity they must also plead guilty, if to be all, intelligent, moral, and happy, be to be uniform. Variety of characters and incidents in ordinary life, and the tumultuous excitements of society, arise from two sources; from the mixture of the depraved and the wretched on the one hand with the general mass, and on the other from the mixture of the enlightened and good. That part of the variety and stirring excitement which arises from the admixture of vices and crimes, the cooperating communities certainly cannot enjoy. Better to be dull, than to be excited by the hearing and seeing of vices and misery. Thieving cannot exist, where every one owns everything, where

every want is supplied, and where of course there is nothing to steal; falsehoods and perjuries cannot exist where nothing can be gained by practising them; civil strifes and contentions cannot exist about property, where there are no individual possessions: where none are in want, assaults and murders cannot take place to extort the necessities of life, nor will such occupations as those of highway-robbers, shop-lifters, &c., exist. Hence the high excitements of fear, of violence, and fraud on the one side, and on the other of tormenting and life-destroying punishments at public executions; hence the high excitements from the gentlemanly reverses of gamblers, from the after-pangs of drunken midnight debauch, the suicides that so beautifully vary the terminations of human existence, will be unknown. Almost all the lofty excitements to vigilance of conduct arising from these, and from crimes and vices like these, will cease; and the uniformity of enjoyment, morality and happiness, arising from the cessation of crimes and vices, must be borne, though such a state should appear dull. But as it is allowed that a state of non-excitement cannot be to sentient creatures a state of happiness, these communities will be impelled, in order to withdraw themselves from the monotony of inorganic existence, from mere freedom from evil, to seek out for some exciting causes, over and above the supply of their physical wants, and the amusement and interest of their daily occupations. These will be found in a ten-fold or a hundred-fold increase of all those excitements of pleasing enthusiasm, which the general pursuit of science, art, and beneficence, cannot fail to produce. Not an improvement in moral or physical science that will not give more general interest throughout all these communities of well-informed men, than the announcement of wholesale robberies and murders under the name of war and glory, now produce in general society.

But the feelings excited, how different in their nature and effects ! The wide wish of benevolence will dilate from the expanded foreheads of such communities over the interests, the affairs, of all nations: from the contest of mutual destruction, their thoughts will be directed to the emulation of mutual good. Whatever social regulation, agricultural or mechanical improvement, have been anywhere made ; whatever casualties or natural phænomena occur over the globe, will be, at meals, at labour, as well as at hours of leisure, the means of constantly recurring excitements to such communities, while man and nature exist ; because there are none of those things which, by the equal opportunities of common enjoyment, will not be brought immediately home to the interest of every individual. The differences of the nervous, as well as the muscular and organic systems of individuals, will ensure, under the rule of free inquiry, and the thence-resulting eternal progress in knowledge, all the freshness of originality, as well as individuality, of character, which is necessary for individual personal excitement. Add to these the affections of friendship and love, where these feelings can neither be bought, nor sold, nor feigned, nor entered into nor bound together by mercenary motives ; and it will be found that while in these communities almost all sources of painful excitement leading to preponderant mischief are excluded, the sources of pleasurable excitement of the highest class, and leading always to preponderant good, are beyond calculation increased."

M.—page 343.

Lord Thurlow.

" Of the eloquence of Lord Thurlow, and of his manner in debate, Mr. Butler has given a striking account:

—At times Lord Thurlow was superlatively great. It was the good fortune of the reminiscient to hear his celebrated reply to the Duke of Grafton, during the inquiry into Lord Sandwich's administration of Greenwich hospital. His Grace's action and delivery, when he addressed the House, were singularly dignified and graceful; but his matter was not equal to his manner. He reproached Lord Thurlow with his plebeian extraction, and his recent admission into the peerage: particular circumstances caused Lord Thurlow's reply to make a deep impression on the reminiscient. His Lordship had spoken too often, and began to be heard with a civil but visible impatience. Under these circumstances he was attacked in the manner we have mentioned. He rose from the woolsack, and advanced slowly to the place from which the Chancellor generally addresses the House; then fixing on the Duke a look of Jove when he grasps the thunder, 'I am amazed,' he said, in a level tone of voice, 'at the attack the Noble Duke has made on me. Yes, my Lords,' considerably raising his voice, 'I am amazed at his Grace's speech. The Noble Duke cannot look before him, behind him, or on either side of him, without seeing some Noble Peer who owes his seat in this House to his successful exertions in the profession to which I belong. Does he not feel that it is as honourable to owe it to these, as to being the accident of an accident? To all these Noble Lords the language of the Noble Duke is as applicable and insulting as it is to myself. But I do not fear to meet it singly and alone. No one venerates the peerage more than I do;—but, my Lords, I must say that the peerage solicited me, not I the peerage. Nay more, I can say, and will say, that as a Peer of Parliament, as Speaker of this Right Honourable House, as Keeper of the Great Seals, as Guardian of His Majesty's Conscience, as Lord High Chancellor of England,

may, even in that character alone in which the Noble Duke would think it an affront to be considered—as a man, I am at this moment as respectable—I beg leave to add, I am at this time as much respected—as the proudest Peer I now look down upon.’ The effect of this speech, both within the walls of parliament and out of them, was prodigious. It gave Lord Thurlow an ascendancy in the House which no Chancellor had ever possessed: it invested him, in public opinion, with a character of independence and honour: and this, though he was ever on the unpopular side in politics, made him always popular with the people.”—*Dr. Lardner’s Cabinet Cyclopædia.*

N.—page 346.

Mr. HENRY BROOKE, an Irish gentleman of the last century, writes as follows.

“ Had this world been unpropertied, had it been alike communicable to *all*, could men have subsisted on the elements of air, and light, and streams, flowing to every lip, evil could not have prevailed so universally as it has done. But as the goods of this world are subject to appropriation, as they are capable of division, distinction, and inclosure, they are become the baneful and deadly roots of every species of evil that hath arisen, and spread and propagated throughout the earth. Hence, avarice, envy, hatred, rancour, rapine, murder, and all the direful train of atrocious malignities that have turned the world, from the beginning, into a wide ‘Aceldama’, a field of blood and carnage! In truth, the history of the world is little other than the history of the first Cain, multiplied, and daily renewing and repeating the butchery of his brethren. It is the history of *these*, ravening and rending from *those* the little they possess, *that much might have more, and*

that each might have all;—while brother grudges to brother the transient pittance of a miserable mortality, and one half of the species is employed in driving and dispatching the other half from existence, that themselves might be left upon the earth, the sole possessors of properties, that must quickly elude their own hold,—properties that no grasp could ever retain.

“ Suppose that you behold the gloomy powers of malevolence (if such there be,) mixing in all this bustle, hovering over the heads of the wretched race of man, scoffing at the folly of their avarice, fomenting and inflaming the madness of their ambition, listening with horrid delight to the shrieks and groans of sacked cities, and snuffing up the stench of the reeking entrails and scattered limbs of millions of human carcasses bestrewing the fields of battle. Think of these deeds, so detestable, so eversive of humanity; *yet these are the deeds deemed worthy of being engraved in brass and marble, worthy of being recorded and treasured up in archives, of being celebrated by orators, recited by historians, sung by bards!* Thus it is that men are carried down the stream of universal prejudice, and ascribe unmerited honours and renown to persons and to actions, alone deserving of infamy! Thus it is *that man has a natural propensity to pay deference to power, however abused, and to applaud strength and courage, however misapplied, provided they are not to his own personal damage!* But were there no exceptions,—no nation, no people, who were peaceable, equitable, and humane? Not any, save in the fabulous accounts of ‘golden ages,’ ‘happy islands,’ and so forth. Even those refined and learned states, *who accounted the rest of the world for barbarians*, who boasted themselves as the polishers of manners, the promoters of arts, and the patrons of liberty! Yet they never allowed freedom to those whom their power could bring under subjection.

“ When they ceased to be employed in foreign war-

fare, they were rent by intestine division and tumult; and, in the want of other prey, they turned their arms against each other. They were manslayers by birth, by profession, by education; and though there were among them some celebrated as adepts in science and philosophy, *the talkers of sentiment and human refinement*; yet, in the day of blood and desolation, we rarely find any difference between them and those whom they stigmatize barbarians. Grey hair—infancy—even the helpless sex, whom all seem appointed to protect, fell beneath the unsparing sword of these savage-hearted beings. But these celebrated Republics had PATRIOTISM among their virtues to a greater degree than any nation now upon the earth; for the circle of modern patriotism rarely extends beyond family or party, whereas the circle of ancient patriotism encompassed all the families denominated country! But how much more nobly would they have acted had any one of those states *stretched their circle of patriotism as far as humanity ought to have interested and affianced them to the interest of mankind!* Had they gone forth in blessings on all the nations around, had they supported the oppressed, assisted the feeble, pulled down the proud, lifted up the fallen, and lent their warfare for the peaceable, they would have interested the circling powers in their own power and interest, and *they would have become the most prosperous and durable state that ever did or shall subsist within the circuit of the moon."*

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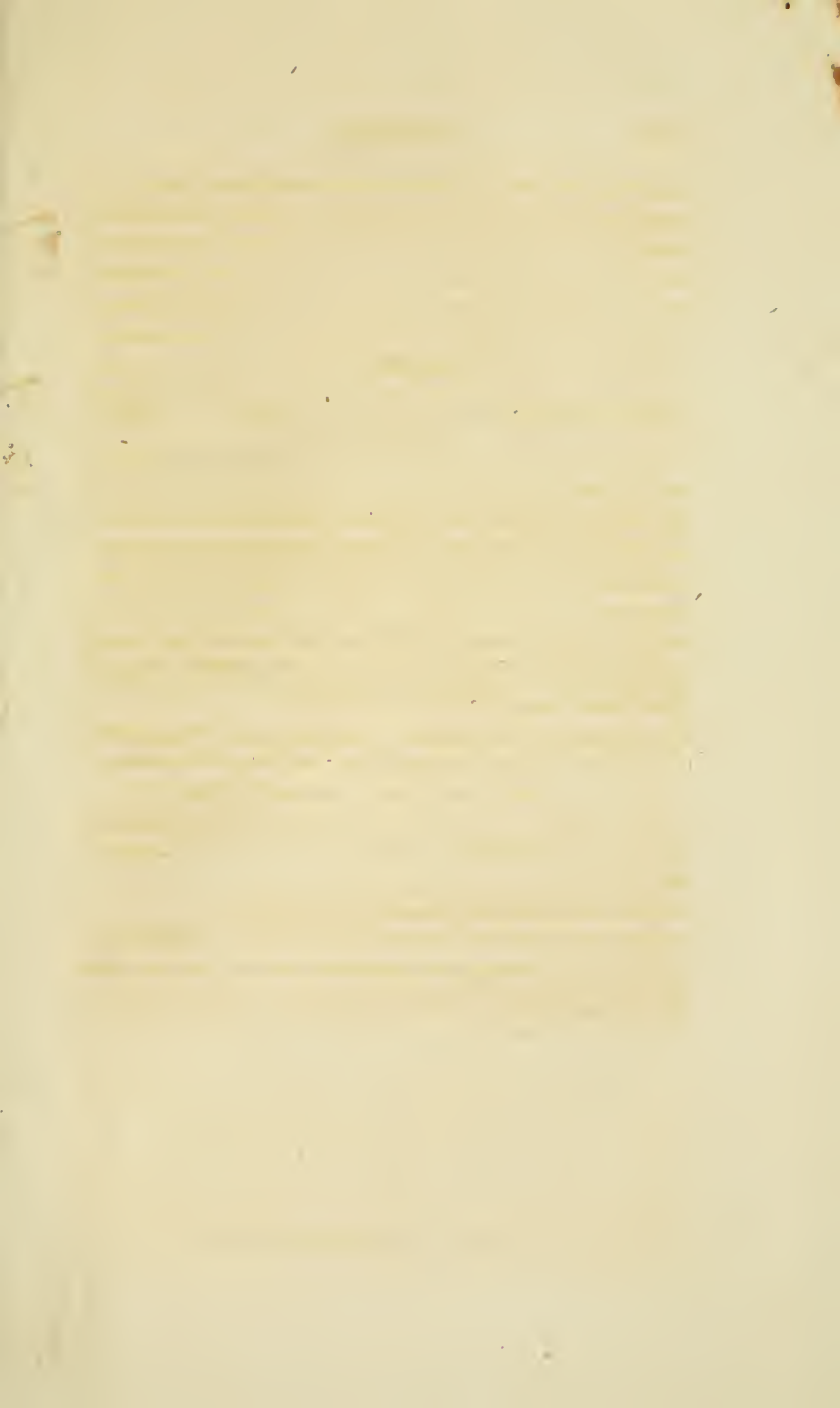
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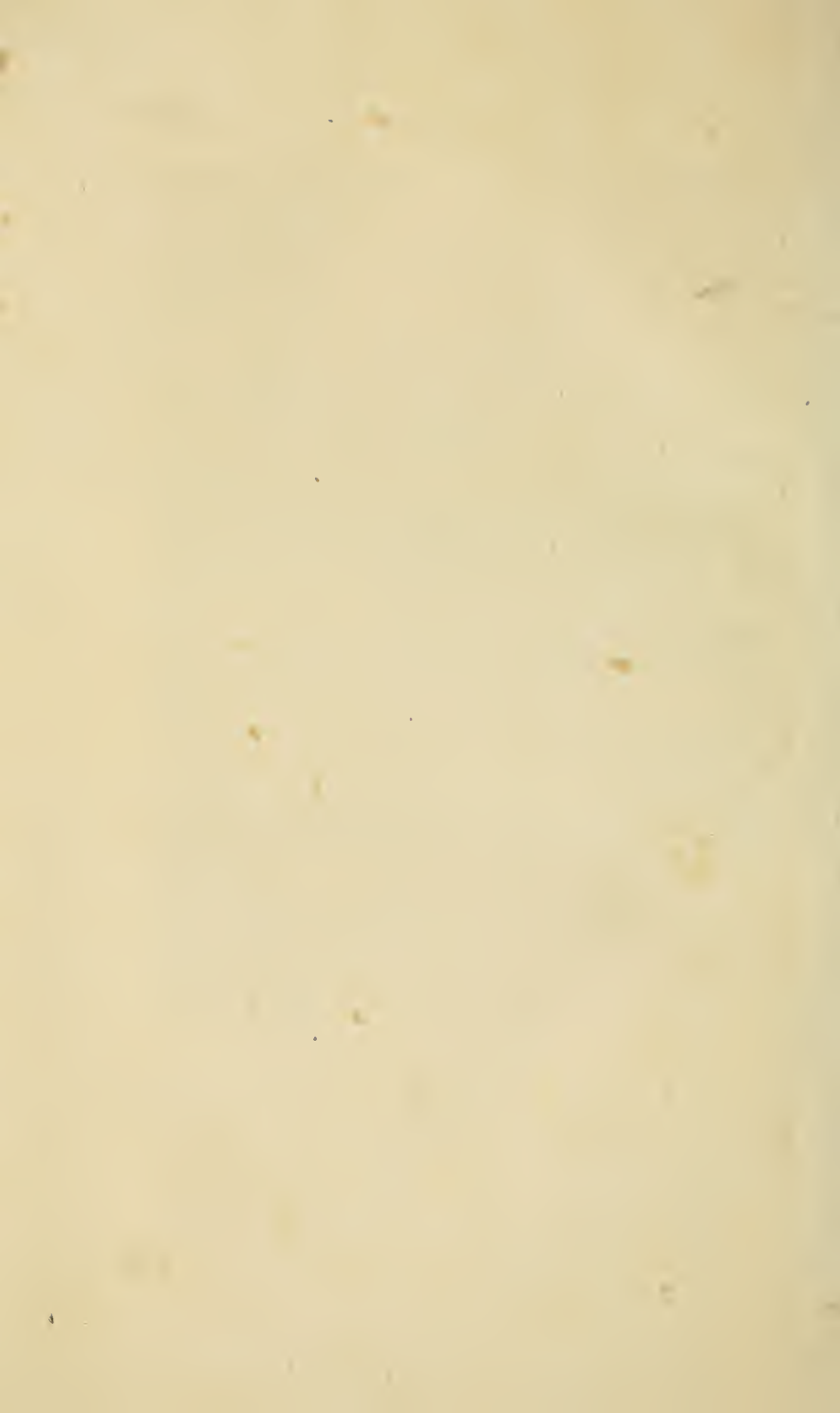
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